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DIARY OF A JOURNEY
IN
FRANCE AND SPAIN,
CHIEFLY IN THE YEAR 1844.

BY THE
REV. FRANCIS TRENCH.

"We recur with much pleasure to Mr. Trench's volumes. The author's only object in publishing his travels was [to give some account of the state of religion in the districts which he visited, and especially of the comparative influence exercised by the Roman Catholic and Protestant faiths respectively over the minds of the people—an object certainly well befitting a clergyman, and worthy of the highest commendation. We can safely say that in the course of his travels Mr. Trench has omitted no opportunity of gaining information upon this important subject to which he applies himself with equal zeal and ability. In fact, the title which Mr. Borrow prefixed to his *Travels in Spain*, might have been applied with far more propriety to Mr. Trench's work, the subject to which that title relates being only just glanced at in the former, while in the latter, it meets us at every turn. Nothing could be better chosen than his route, which lay through the most beautiful and interesting district in France, though least known to English travellers, Auvergne."—*Times*.

"Mr. Trench has most pleasantly and unaffectedly given us the description of what he saw, heard, and encountered in his pleasant tour in the south of France. The author is evidently adapted for travelling; he easily adapts himself to persons and circumstances; extracting from the former by easy and unreserved conversation, and from the latter by a quick perception of what is worthy of investigation, numberless facts and details which would wholly escape the common-place traveller who confines his observations to what lies before him. His style is terse, fluent, and elegant, and his reflections indicate a well-stored and vigorous intellect. No portion of his *Diary* exceeds in interest or value the information he collected with respect to the state of the Romish religion in France, some of which is of a sufficiently startling character from the heathenish practices which it reveals. There is also a great deal of curious matter relating to the Reformed Churches."—*John Bull*.

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RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET.

(Publisher in Ordinary to Her Majesty.)

SCOTLAND,
ITS FAITH AND ITS FEATURES.

VOL. I.



SCOTLAND,
ITS FAITH AND ITS FEATURES;

OR,

A VISIT TO BLAIR ATHOL.

BY

THE REV. FRANCIS TRENCH.

PERP. CURATE OF ST. JOHN'S, READING; CHAPLAIN TO THE ROYAL
BERKSHIRE HOSPITAL, AND DOMESTIC CHAPLAIN TO THE
RIGHT HONORABLE EARL OF EFFINGHAM.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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P R E F A C E.

It may very naturally be asked by those, who are unacquainted with the writer of these pages, how a Clergyman with the present engagements of the Author, could find either leisure to witness the things described in this work, or to describe them with that detail, which it will be found to contain.

In answer to these very legitimate inquiries, he thinks it well to mention, that he only resumed the *first* office noticed in the title-page on the first day of the present year—that he only commenced the *second* from the same period; and that the *third*, though of somewhat longer duration, and highly valued by him from claims of friendship and esteem, involves, under ordinary circumstances, no claims whatever on a Clergyman's labour or time.

One word more. With regard to the Author's course of travel, as now before the public for two successive years, he thinks it not irrelevant to state here, that to it he considers himself mainly indebted for that health which he now enjoys. With its complete restoration, he feels himself deeply indebted to Almighty God for being allowed once more to be engaged in that full and fixed pastoral work, which, though he cannot speak of himself, as one "*peregrino labore fessus*," (according to the feeling and expression of the Latin poet) is, nevertheless, better and happier than any other course of life of which he has had experience, or which he can at all conceive.

Reading, February, 1846.

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SCOTLAND;

ITS FAITH AND ITS FEATURES.

CHAPTER I.

Scene of Travel—English Commons—Twyford Forest—Twyford School—Itchen Stoke—Reading—Country near Reading—Oxford—Country near Oxford.

July 10, 1845.—We left F——, on the Hampshire coast, this morning, with the intention of visiting Scotland, and of travelling leisurely through the north of England, both localities being hitherto quite unknown to me. I had long been desirous of adding some degree of personal acquaintance with the above-mentioned parts of our country to that which a permanent residence in the south of Great Britain, and a certain period passed in Ireland had given me regarding those portions of the realm, as to their inhabitants, local features, and general characteristics. Accordingly, as I had derived

much satisfaction and advantage, in various ways, from travelling through France and a part of Spain in the manner described in my "Diary of Travels" in those countries, published last year, I again adopted the same means of locomotion, in spite of these railroad times, and set off northward, with my ponies, hoping and intending to exercise, day by day, though at home and "*expers maris*," that detailed inquiry and observation which I should have used, if travelling abroad, and feeling no doubt that at home as well as on the continent, abundant materials of useful and attractive interest would meet us on our way.

I must leave it to my readers to judge, whether according to their views my expectations shall have been realized, and whether the objects to which I shall direct their notice shall have been suited to a Diary or not. If the former shall be found the case, I doubt not that what has been adequate to interest the writer, will interest many others, whose eye this narrative may meet, howsoever humble its pretensions, and void of that high colouring, which distance and romance will of themselves and naturally confer on pages presenting their claims from the far "corners of the earth."

Our drive to day led us through a portion of

those fresh, open, healthy commons, with which this neighbourhood abounds. To me they have always had, and have still, no slight charm, partly from their un-inclosed state, and the consequent freedom with which they may be traversed, whether on horseback or on foot ; and partly from the thought that in them the poorest have some rights—some “ common ” rights still. Moreover I am fully convinced that, if there be a few slight objections to the vicinity of commons, these only are experienced when they are mismanaged by the individuals in whom the rights and privileges are vested ; and that under other circumstances much benefit results to parishes from the occasional plots granted to poor and industrious families, and to the poor at large from the annual and permanent benefit afforded to them, in collection of fuel, in the run for their cattle and live stock, and above all in a little elbow room around their abodes.

After passing these commons, we entered a succession of beautiful lanes, where irregular and narrow strips of land on each side of the road, and bordering the large farms and fields beyond, are occupied by fruitful gardens and cottages—truly English cottages—covered with vines, roses, and all kinds of trailing foliage. We then entered Twyford Forest, which, though not

a very large tract, is nevertheless a perfect forest. It extends in some directions to a considerable distance—at all events as far as the eye, wandering among its glades, can reach, and presents a succession of detailed foreground, lovely and picturesque as any forest can offer. And in the very heart of this scene, three buildings, attractive in their architecture, appropriate to one another as well as to their good purpose, and forming by their proximity one holy precinct tell, at once their own history to the traveller, as being the church, the school, and the parsonage. The forest has its many foresters, and these have now their means of grace. It was not so a few years since; and well I remember the day, when this House of God was consecrated by that able and amiable Prelate, who has had the joy and privilege of consecrating so many similar edifices, not only in the more known quarters of his diocese, but also in the dells, the downs, and the woods, with which this part of England abounds. What Christian Minister, accustomed to apply natural scenes to spiritual things, can pass the spot without in some measure sympathizing in the work of that faithful brother, who is now resident Pastor here, without some spiritual application of the scene around him, without the desire and prayer that here may be planted and grow many “trees

of righteousness, the planting of the Lord, that He may be glorified.’’*

In former times I have often heard the inhabitants of this district spoken of as lawless and insubordinate. But on inquiring from the clergyman appointed to the charge, of which I am speaking, as to whether he had experienced any peculiar difficulties among them, I heard that the case was quite otherwise, and that he had every reason to be gratified and thankful in regard to the manner in which he himself, and his ministry had been here received.

After passing through the forest, we entered the village of Twyford—the place of my earliest school-days, and where the Rev. J. G. B— was then master. Though labouring early in life under one of the most severe visitations, that of blindness, he nevertheless exhibited a genius and aptness for his high and honourable office which no pupil of his should ever think of without acknowledgment and gratitude. The Rev. J. G. B— still lives in the scene of his successful exertions, and still has the pleasure of witnessing the flourishing condition of his former school. The situation is, to my mind, perfect ; and few things recur to my memory as more delightful than the half-holiday rambles

* Isaiah, LXI. 3.

over the downs on one side of the village, or among the water-meadows on the other by the banks of the Itchen—a river dear to old Isaac Walton, and in certain weather almost as clear and transparent as the very air itself.

Passing by St. Cross, a curious old almshouse, resembling very much a small college in its buildings and arrangements, at which every traveller, who applies, is entitled to receive a small supply of bread and beer, we reached Winchester, and then pursued our way along a very pleasant valley to Itchen Stoke, a distance of about six miles, where we remained for the night at the Rectory, my brother's residence. The whole parish is the property of Lord Ashburton; and all the objects on which he has employed attention and expenditure, such as the farm-houses, cottages, church, school, parsonage, &c., bespeak a watchful and liberal proprietor.

July 11. To Reading.—The first few miles of our course to-day brought us through the delightful grounds and park attached to the Grange, Lord Ashburton's residence. We entered the plantations near to the village of Itchen-Stoke, passed by two of the most beautiful ornamental cottages* which I ever remember

* During the whole of my subsequent course through England

to have seen, turned down to the right through a dark wood, and by a small ivy-covered castle, then ascended the hill opposite, and had a full view of a residence which has, in reality, what so many residences claim in vain, a truly Grecian and classical appearance. The ground is terraced, though not formally, in front, and slopes downward towards a sheet of water, broad, winding, and covered with wild-fowl of various descriptions, which rose wheeling, flapping, and screaming in all directions, high above our heads.

Leaving another ornamental cottage on the right, we quitted the park, passed through Basingstoke, and reached Reading in the evening.

There we remained for about ten days. Of the town and neighbourhood I will only say thus much, that I believe, as a town, it is excelled by none in England as to the high character of its inhabitants, whether speaking religiously, morally, or intellectually; and that, on the whole, it is of much repute and prosperity, as a place of business, and most agreeable as a place of sojourn.

and Scotland, I saw nothing in the way of cottage architecture which equalled or approached them in beauty and propriety of style.

The whole circuit of the country around is rich, varied, and beautiful ; for what vicinity in the midland parts of England can offer more attractive sights than the banks of the Thames to Henley on the one hand, or to Maple-Durham and to Streatley on the other, than the wild beech woods behind Caversham, or the rich succession of park scenery towards Newbury ? And Shinfield, and Swallowfield, and Farley-Hill, and Strathfieldsaye, have their peculiar charms, which those who know them best will, I doubt not, appreciate the most. Such is the circuit of local beauty and attraction with which Reading is girt. I scarcely know one road, or one lane near it, where the course of a few miles will not refresh and delight^o the eye, if open to the loveliness of true English scenes.

July 22. Reading to Leamington.—An hour's travelling by railroad brought us to Oxford early this morning. I can never pass by this city, or through its neighbouring locality, without strong impressions as to the permanency and unchanging character of the town and country. Certainly we now enter the town by the railroad, at a point where in former times few arrived at the place ; and as we advance in the direction which we pursued to-day, the

newly erected Martyr's Cross rises as a testimonial of sympathy with the spirit by which our noble and blessed Reformers were influenced ; and here and there some grand recent edifice or local improvement appears—but nevertheless antiquity, permanence, and stability remain as the peculiar features of the town: and it is remarkable that the same character should equally apply to the surrounding country. The frame suits the picture right well. I cannot recall any part of England, familiar to me twenty years ago, in which less alteration is visible. The roads, the farm-houses, the cottages, the fences, and stone-walls, remain precisely in *statu quo*, according to my remembrance of them when at college myself. Little or nothing has been added ; little or nothing has been removed. No trim citizen's box appears with its gay flowers and bright green palings. No chimney smokes on high to tell of manufacturing speculation as having visited this part of her Majesty's dominions. All the scenes in the immediate neighbourhood of Oxford seem, so to speak, stereotyped. They seem, notwithstanding these innovating times, to harmonize still in the most appropriate manner with the venerable town itself. They are solemn and impressive ; and though not what is called

picturesque, have their peculiar charms, which some, like Arnold, who was a first-rate judge of scenery, and very sensitive to its effect on the mind, have duly felt and prized. I am well aware that to these remarks many, who know this country well, will feel no response. I write for those whose organ of locality is more developed—for those who are more susceptible on these points ; and I do not doubt that they will apprehend at once the bearing of these observations, as having realized themselves those very feelings to which, locally speaking, Oxford and its neighbourhood give rise.

Our pony-carriage was waiting for us at the station, and we then pursued our journey northward through Banbury and Southam to Leamington. The whole country presented one almost uninterrupted succession of pasture land, denoting England to be indeed a meat-eating, and horse-using country far beyond all other lands. In no part of Europe have I ever seen such large districts devoted exclusively to grass as county after county in its midland parts exhibit. Any one looking to the right and left as he journeys by the railroad from London to Liverpool may bear testimony to the truth of the observation.

CHAPTER II.

Leamington—Bosworth Field—Calke Abbey—Popish Chapels—
Sabbath Observance — Matlock — Haddon Hall — Ashford—
Charity Baths—Manchester at night—Conduct of the people.

July 24. Leamington to Ashby-de-la-Zouch.—
We were detained a day at Leamington by bad weather; but our detention was of a very agreeable character, as although my own relatives, who reside there, were absent, we were received in the house of a friend whose spirit, conversation, and course of life, as a faithful and devoted servant of Christ rendered it a privilege to pass the day in his house and society. At parting the next morning he gave us an abundance of tracts, as seed to be sown on our way. A most acceptable present! Continuing our journey this morning, we went through Nuneaton and reached Ashby for

the night, after passing through a country somewhat monotonous, but calling up at one spot interesting recollections of English history : for passing close to Bosworth field, we thought of Richard's defeat and those momentous consequences, which, by the blessing of God, followed the succession of the Tudors to the throne of Great Britain, under sovereigns who though they may have erred much and often, were still in God's hand mighty instruments towards the overthrow of Popery, and towards the establishment of true, scriptural religion in our land.

The evening was too gloomy and unfavourable to afford us much enjoyment in visiting the celebrated castle of Ashby-de-la-Zouch. Feeling therefore that I should not do it justice, I shall prefer to omit any notice of the scene, which at this day it presents, ennobled as it is by history, and clothed with fresh interest by the genius of Walter Scott.

July 25. To Rowsley Hotel, Derbyshire.—Our first stage this morning was to Derby. The features of the country now became more bold and varied than they had been hitherto. We went a short distance out of our way, in order to pass half an hour with a friend, who was staying at Calke Abbey. This fine residence

and its adjoining park contain in themselves all those features of wood, water, hill, dale, and pleasure ground, which form the completeness of an English gentleman's demesne of the first class. It is not long since its late owner has departed from this present world, having died in the prime of life, leaving a widow and young family. During his stay on earth, he was distinguished for his Christian faith and zeal in his Master's service.* His memory is blessed. And though he left a fair abode, he dwells in a nobler mansion, in a richer inheritance now. "To depart and be with Christ is far better than any earthly good." (Phil. i. 23.)

Our arrangements for the day's journey would not admit of our spending sufficient time at Derby to see the manufactories, or other interesting objects, which that prosperous town contains; but we regretted this the less from being in hopes of revisiting the place on our return southward, as Derby forms a converging point from many northern roads.

During a short walk we noticed a very

* During an election, when party spirit was very bitter against that side which Sir G—C—espoused, at his appearance on the hustings, no more taunting or adverse word was uttered from the crowd than the honourable, though derisive exclamation, "Now, Sir George, give us a sermon."

handsome church in progress of erection, and on the other side of the street a Romish Chapel opened a few years ago. The inside of the latter edifice was very simple, in comparison with foreign churches, neither did I notice figures of the crowned Virgin or other reprehensible ornaments and decorations, similar to those in which Popery delights abroad. I have myself no doubt that they will be introduced, as priests and jesuits can bring our countrymen to bear them. This is the policy of their system, unchanging and unchangeable, whether as to creed or ritual. I mentioned the comparative freedom here from objects of an idolatrous and unscriptural character to a faithful and watchful brother-minister, who immediately remarked, "The chapel at Derby was built a few years ago. But as the Romish cause has rapidly advanced since that time, so the chapels more recently built in England are adorned and fitted up with far less reserve. As times favour the system, so the system expands."

It gave me much gratification to hear that the numerous churches of this important city are now occupied by enlightened and devoted ministers. Among other christian objects in which they have zealously exerted themselves is that of the due observance of the Lord's

day. A glorious object too ! With it all spiritual blessings to our country are most intimately joined. What a solemn passage is that in the Prophet Jeremiah, xvii., 21—27,* where the downfall or continuance of a nation is closely connected with this special observance. May the people of England, whether rich or poor, lay such passages to heart, and act upon them in zeal, perseverance, fearlessness, and truth !

Shortly after leaving Derby we entered the beautiful valley which leads by Matlock and Buxton to Manchester.

The hills here rise very boldly, and are either thickly clothed with wood, or luxuriant with pas-

* “ And it shall come to pass, if ye diligently hearken unto me, saith the Lord, to bring in no burden through the gates of this city on the Sabbath day, but hallow the Sabbath day, to do no work therein ; then shall there enter into the gates of this city kings and princes sitting upon the throne of David riding chariots and on horses, they, and their princes, the men of Judah, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem ; and this city shall remain for ever.”

I quote only two verses, but the whole passage well deserves national attention ; and in speaking of the Sabbath, let it ever be remembered that it was an ordinance for all nations, cotemporary with the creation of the world, Gen. ii. 3, and not as many persons either ignorantly or deceitfully maintain, a mere appointment for the Jews. Some perhaps might think this observation needless, but I well remember that an assertion, of the kind, which I would endeavour to expose, was made in the House of Commons.

ture, while manufacturing activity displays itself on all sides. As we advanced, the road was not destitute of features resembling some of the mountain passes of the continent; and the situation of the clustering and hanging residences forming the well-known Matlock Baths, with the abrupt curve of the valley, and the river overhung with trees reminded me of St. Sauveur, and other small towns among the Pyrenees.

Passing through Matlock, we stopped for the night at an inn, standing by itself, and very old and picturesque in its appearance, called Rowsley Hotel. It is the property of the Duke of Rutland, who, with the Duke of Devonshire, share between them a large proportion of this and the neighbouring localities. Their respective insignia, the peacock and the snake, are visible on all sides. Over the door of our hotel was the "peacock;" and underneath was the date, as I suppose, when the house was erected, viz. 1652. We found the inn very comfortable, and it may be worth the observation of travellers, that it stands within a few miles of two English country houses, one of which as an ancient, and the other as a modern edifice—one representing country life and magnificence in old time, and the other representing the same in these present times, are,

perhaps, the most distinguished of any which our land contains. I refer to Haddon Hall and Chatsworth—the former one mile, the latter three miles distant.

Our journey to-day had been most interesting, through a fine and populous country, adorned with churches, schools, cottages and other buildings erected with much taste, and maintained with evident care and liberality. The stone of the country is excellent, and harmonizes well in colour with the scenes of nature around.

July 26. To Manchester. — Having a long journey before us, and intending to visit Haddon Hall on the way, we set off at six this morning, cheered by a clear warm atmosphere and bright sun.

A mile's progress brought us to the gate leading to the old baronial mansion of the Vernons and the Manners partially seen among the trees on the gentle ascent to our right, and just so much open to view, as suits the retired character of the place. Haddon Hall is, perhaps, the most interesting and best preserved illustration of ancient domestic life, among the higher circle of Englishmen, to be found in Great Britain. And all here is in perfect keeping : for while in no part of the building any dilapidation is to be seen, on the other hand, in no part

whatsoever, is there any decoration of modern date. As might naturally be expected, there is not *much* furniture anywhere. Yet still there is *some* throughout ; and to speak with accuracy, all the fixtures remain. From this furniture and fixtures—even had we no records of domestic life at the period when Haddon Hall was a stirring scene of family society, hospitality, and charity—much might be learned concerning the manners, habits, and life of those days.

There was something very pleasant to us in visiting the place at the fresh, quiet, hour which we chose. There was no parade of exhibition—no high-dressed housekeeper, or pompous guides, *unus et alter*, in succession, to give their cold, drilled lesson.

On our driving up, a very intelligent girl came out of an adjoining cottage, and no other human being was visible in the place, excepting her and ourselves, during the whole survey which we made. And this was done at leisure, and with some accuracy. I can recal only a portion of the many curious articles and objects here presented to our view, and carrying us back two or three centuries. Entering the court-yard we first saw the porter's lodge, and the massive old wooden bed in which he slept. We then

went into the chaplain's room* and study, in which there are now placed a gun, a pair of boots, a chapel-bell, a leathern doublet, a hunter's horn, pewter dishes, &c., all of ancient date and form. The hall resembles that of a small college, with a high table across, and long tables at right angles, stretched from one end of the room to the other. Within the outer hall there is another dining-room, with oriel window and carved chimney-piece, over which is inscribed :

Dreade GOD and honor the Kyng.

Here there is a large copper wine-cooler ; and on one of the panels are carved portraits of Henry VII., and his Queen, extremely well executed in wood.

We then successively viewed the drawing-room with its oriel windows, tapestried walls, and old embroidered ottomans, and the dressing-room and the bed-room of the Earl. The only mode of access by which the ladies' maids could reach their mistress was by the open court, and a flight of unprotected stone steps leading to her dressing-room.

Among the other apartments are a handsome gallery, a state-bed-room with an ancient bed,

* This was the only apartment into which any object has been transferred from their appropriate position.

which was sent to Belvoir Castle for the use of George IV., when Regent ; and guard-rooms in the tower.

But perhaps there is, after all, nothing more curious in the whole place than the arrangements of the kitchen and adjoining offices. So accurately are they maintained in their former condition that they might be used for dinners and company at this very moment—that is supposing such cooks, as then dressed dinners, and such guests as then consumed them, could again be assembled within Haddon Hall.

In the kitchen are the old tables, benches, &c. still hard, strong, massive, and serviceable, with the chopping-block, the dressers, and a salt-box of immense magnitude. Within the kitchen is a bakery and a larder. Farther on is the butchery or slaughter-house, with all its painful accompaniments. Seeing no entrance, except that by which we had entered, I asked whether the cattle used to come in to be killed through the kitchen. “Yes, Sir, that was the only way.” In the buttery, the door has a small hole, which served as the means for distributing food to the poor claimants of the neighbourhood.

Altogether Haddon Hall interested us extremely. I have not spoken of the building itself, nor of the surrounding scenes, because in both these

points this old hall has other rivals ; but I believe that it has none as to the abundance of articles remaining in it, which were here literally used in ancient domestic life, and for the exactitude of information with which it supplies the intelligent observer, who may wish to trace out the in-door history of former generations in our land. In France, the Castle of Chenonceaux, near Tours, and of Azay-le-Rideau near Chinon, are kept up in some measure with the same view ; but in both those residences habitation has, in a certain degree, necessitated an introduction of modern arrangements. Haddon Hall is not inhabited, and therefore not a single new thing is requisite in it, or indeed visible.

Passing by Ashford, with its steep and beautiful slopes, overshadowing trees, and gracefully built houses, we traversed a district of complete solitude, but much attraction. The road made a long and gradual ascent between steep hills for many miles, amidst coppices and woods, and gray granite here and there peeping out from the green foliage around. Moors appeared in the distance on the right. I observed here a rare and curiously shaped plant, with a large leaf resembling that of the rhubarb, but of a rounder form, bordering the road in thick clusters for a

few hundred yards. It was a specimen which, to my knowledge, I never before met.

Resting at Buxton, we visited the Charity Baths, maintained for patients in indigent circumstances. Many persons interested in the condition of the poor may be glad to know that such an institution exists, and that admission for the suffering poor can be obtained with every facility. I specially mention this because rheumatism is, perhaps, the very ailment in which the waters of Buxton are found the most valuable and effective; while, so far as I have observed, there is no form of suffering to which the agricultural labourers of England are more subject. Exposure to the inclemency of the weather is the cause; and, in mentioning the subject, I speak from pastoral experience in witnessing the sickness of the poor. No cases of suffering appear to me so common, and no words are so continually heard beneath the cottage roof as *rhumatiz*, or *rhumatics*, in answer to inquiries as to the health of the poor.

Beyond Buxton the country displays some wild and rather bare heights, reminding me in some degree of the lower parts of Plinlimmon. We reached Manchester during the evening, where we were to pass the next day.

The hotel at which we stopped was near the Dean's-gate, a long street and thoroughfare, which, especially on Saturday night, as the great marketing occasion for the labouring population of the town, is thronged from end to end with such a vast crowd that all have to dodge about, and push their way in order to make any advance. Except, of course, in the time of a procession, or at some similar scene, I never saw such a stream of human beings in any town whatsoever. The Toledo, at Naples, or Ghent, at the workmen's dinner time, is nothing in comparison. The whole street was brilliant with gas from the shops, and adjoining the street was a large meat market thronged with purchasers, though it was near midnight. There is something very strange and somewhat solemn in witnessing for the first time such a multitude of souls thus gathered thickly together. Perhaps my remembrance that the hour was on the very confines of the Lord's day, made the impression more vivid, as I retired to rest from the midst of the countless throng of fellow-creatures and eternal souls. I am glad to say that I heard little or no profane language, while I saw little drunkenness and no violence during an hour or more in which I was a close observer of the scene around me. I believe that faithful and earnest ministrations of

the Gospel, Sunday Schools, and Temperance Societies, are, under God's blessing, the chief means to which improvement is due whenever improvement appears in the habits of the population dwelling in those crowded cities of our land, such as that where I now write.

CHAPTER III.

Salford—Rev. H—S.—Sunday Schools—Lancashire Psalmody—Adult Scholars—Circulation of the Scriptures—The Sabbath—Christian Communion—Lancashire Dialect—Union School—Solitude of the Roads—View of Preston—Condition of Workmen—Mr. Swainson's Factory—Factory process—Roads and Inns.

July 27.—WE attended to-day the services at Christ Church, in Salford, which immediately adjoins Manchester. The incumbent of this large, important, and populous locality is the Rev. H—S—, well known throughout England for his eloquent and energetic speeches, as scriptural in their character as they are rich in illustration, and adorned with all that fine feelings, a poetic spirit, and a noble heart can pour forth. I have more than once heard him speak, and witnessed the thrill of interest with which, after one or two sentences are uttered by him, his glowing addresses are invariably received by his delighted audience. I had never heard him preach, but had been told that his sermons were comparatively of a calm and chastened character,

and that he was not less distinguished for his pastoral affection and parochial diligence, than for his oratorical powers. To-day I had an opportunity of observing how true and accurate all these statements were, and how they were exemplified in his valuable ministry.

We heard him preach both morning and evening. His sermon in the morning was on the Parable of the Unjust Steward. That in the evening was on Mordecai's exclamation, "All this availeth me nothing, so long as I see Mordecai, the Jew, sitting at the King's gate," (Esther v., 13), and most ably he set forth the misery of ungodly men, who, being given up to the evil passions, and dominion of their own corrupt hearts, cannot help feeling, and oftentimes exhibiting their wretchedness, though, as Haman, they may possess all those exterior advantages in which the world conceives that the elements of happiness consist. Among many other beautiful and effective passages was one, in which he contrasted the state of wicked Haman, amidst all his splendour and gratified ambition, unable to conceal his misery from his family and friends with that of Paul and Silas, amidst all their bodily suffering and affliction in the prison at midnight, with feet fast in the stocks, and backs lacerated by the scourge,

unable to conceal their joy, and singing praises to God, so that the “prisoners heard them.” (Acts xvi., 25.)

In the midst of all the avocations of the day, Mr. S—— found time to show to my wife and myself every attention and kindness. During the day we accompanied him to one of his Sunday Schools, for, as every thing is done on a large scale in these localities, he has no less than four. I hear that there is one Sunday School in Manchester attended by *two thousand scholars*; and the number frequenting this single institution, out of the four under the pastoral care of Mr. S——, is not less than five hundred. On entering the large apartment, in which this school is held, I was much struck with the order and regularity visible all around. The boys’ and girls’ school-rooms are separated by a partition, sufficiently high to exclude all view of what is going on in each from the other. At one end of this partition there are a few steps, and the clergyman, or individual deputed by him to officiate, can be seen by all underneath the roof at the times of prayer or address to those present. I mention this, as it is a subject of some consequence in the proper management of a school, to accomplish this object without having the boys

and girls together during the period of instruction.

The Lancashire psalmody is celebrated throughout England, and without doubt we heard the psalms and hymns very beautifully and melodiously sung. I heard that the taste for music prevails so strongly, that the girls employed in the factories often sing hymns at their work ; and a lady, who exerts herself in the Sunday School which we visited to-day, told me that when she went with friends or visitors to one of the factories, where she was known to the young people from her Sunday intercourse with them, they immediately struck up a hymn or psalm, by way of recognition. What a beautiful and touching welcome ! May it be an earnest and a prelude of that still more glorious hymn, which on the day when all things shall be known, multitudes of teachers shall hear uttered by those who then shall rise up, “ call them blessed,” and acknowledge them as the friends of their souls, who first brought them to know God through Jesus Christ His Son !

There are no less than twenty-nine teachers in the boys’ school which I visited. I observed one class formed entirely of grown up men ; and in the girls’ apartment there were many grown up women, who still continued their attendance.

I was informed that among the adults there were fathers and mothers of families ; and there are even instances of parents and children attending the school together. All this bespeaks a deep and continued interest in divine things, and is equally creditable to the adult scholars, who evince such humility, docility, and diligence, as it is to the teachers, who year after year are enabled, by the grace of God, to keep this interest alive.*

* From various accounts which I heard in Salford and Manchester as to the progress of the Gospel, and the interest apparently awakened in so many minds as to spiritual things, I was not unprepared for the glad tidings which during the ensuing autumn were spread about the land regarding the unparalleled demand for the word of God proceeding from those towns, and the value attached not only to the privilege of possessing, but also to that of dispersing it among others. The whole account of the matter has been given in such a graphic and impressive manner by my valued friend, C. S. Dudley, Esq., that I cannot do so well as to introduce a considerable portion of the statement made by him on the subject, as agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, in a letter dated November 22, 1845. It has been widely circulated in the country, but I deem it quite a privilege to circulate it still more.

“ 1. The Manchester and Salford Auxiliary was one of the earliest of our affiliated institutions, having been instituted in the year 1810. The population of that period did not much exceed one hundred thousand : it is now estimated at more than three hundred thousand, and is rapidly increasing. The distribution of Bibles and Testaments in the five years ending with 1815 was considerable, averaging about seven thousand annually. During the ensuing six years the sales gradually declined to about two thousand five hundred ; but were again materially and rapidly increased by the establishment of the Ladies' Branch Society and its connected Associations, by whose instrumentality the annual sales

We much enjoyed our Sabbath to-day ; and, indeed, I know few occasions on which one more

were raised to about eight thousand. They speedily, however, again declined, until they reached their former level of about two thousand five hundred. In the year 1838, the present Depository was established, and its beneficial effects soon became perceptible. The sales in 1839 advanced to four thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven, and, with the exception of one year of severe privation and distress, have steadily and progressively increased, until, in 1844, they reached twelve thousand five hundred and seventy-seven. The total issues of the society during thirty-four years, ending September 30, 1844, amounted to one hundred and ninety-four thousand three hundred and thirty-five, being an average annual issue of five thousand seven hundred and twelve.

2. Such was the state of this Auxiliary at the end of its thirty-fourth year. To the casual or unreflecting observer, this, when viewed in connexion with other means of supply, might have appeared an adequate provision for the population. The fallacy of such an opinion will, however, at once appear, when it is stated that, in the year ending September 30, 1845, the sales exceeded fifteen thousand, being nearly threefold that of the average of preceding years. And yet this was but the first indication of that extraordinary demand for the Holy Scriptures which has manifested itself among the working-classes, and is progressively and rapidly increasing. In the month of October the sales at the Depository amounted to nine thousand six hundred and eighteen ; and, so rapid has been the increase of demand, that in the first eighteen days of the present month eleven thousand seven hundred and thirteen copies have been issued, the sales during the last ten days averaging more than one thousand a day ;—a fact unprecedented in the history of any similar institution. But even this extensive circulation seems only to have stimulated the inquiry and demand ; for on Monday last the orders received amounted to two thousand six hundred, and on Tuesday and Wednesday respectively they reached four thousand, thus making the number required within three days more than ten thousand ! The orders transmitted to Earl Street since the 1st of October amount to more than thirty-eight thousand copies.

delights in the day of holy rest than when on a journey. We may be in a strange place, but

3. It is not improbable that, in the contemplation of this vast distribution of the Holy Scriptures within the limits of a single Auxiliary, a suspicion may be awakened that the demand was prompted, in degree at least, by interested motives, and that a portion of these purchases have been made with a view to a re-sale at advanced prices. Nor was my own mind free from this impression, when first witnessing the extraordinary scene at the Depository. All my inquiries, however—and they have neither been few in number, nor limited in extent—have failed to discover a single instance in which Bibles or Testaments have been purchased for pecuniary gain.

4. The agency by which this work has been accomplished, and is still proceeding, is not the least remarkable feature of the case. The impulse to offer, and the desire to purchase, seem to have been alike spontaneous and simultaneous. Teachers and senior children in Sunday Schools—clerks in warehouses and factories—serious young persons employed in the numerous and extensive cotton-mills—and others, in various ranks of life, who had been graciously taught the value of the Holy Scriptures as a revelation of infinite love and mercy—appeared to be animated by one spirit. After imploring a blessing from on high on their undertaking, they provided themselves with specimens of different editions of Bibles and Testaments, which they exhibited in the schools and factories, where they appear to have met with open doors and willing minds in every quarter. Thus two young women employed in one factory, disposed of three hundred Bibles and Testaments within a few days. A youth of sixteen years of age, the junior clerk in another cotton-mill, sold four hundred and sixty within a similar time; and in a note now before me, writes:—"Our mill has been in a commotion to-day with the people coming to order books." Two young ladies, collectors of a Bible Association, who had considered their district supplied, furnished themselves with baskets of Bibles and Testaments; and, going forth among the inhabitants of the same district, have, for several weeks, disposed of from twenty to twenty-five copies daily. Passing over many other interesting illustrations of the subject, I will only add, that the

still, wherever we can unite in worship with a congregation of our brethren, and especially when, as to-day, a truth-speaking and enlightened minister presides over that congregation in whose worship we share, there we cannot feel ourselves at all in a strange place ; there we join the family of God ; there we hear the joyful sound of the Gospel ; there we seek edification for ourselves ; there we rejoice for others that they have the bread of life distributed among them ; there we bless God for exalting and honouring His own holy name. When, however, I make these remarks in illustration of the spirit in which we may pass the Lord's day, even in a place where we are total strangers, I cannot say

superintendent, teachers, and senior children of the Sunday Schools attached to one place of worship, have not only sold within a fortnight six hundred Bibles and Testaments to the scholars, but have actually disposed of four thousand copies in the various factories in which these children are employed. In almost every instance the sales have been in single copies ; the few exceptions being those made to individuals for other members of their respective families.

Such, my dear friend, is a hasty and very imperfect sketch of this mighty moral movement—a scene surpassing any I have ever yet witnessed, or hoped to witness. I will not, at present, attempt to trace it in its origin and history ; nor will I incur the risk of grieving one valued friend, who, with the members of his family, has taken a prominent part in these proceedings, by mentioning his name ; but I do not hesitate for a moment in expressing the deep and solemn conviction, that this extraordinary manifestation is to be ascribed to the especial blessing of Almighty God.

that we were called upon to realize a stranger's feelings to-day. The kindness of Mr. S—— and some of his friends, with whom he made us acquainted, rendered our position quite of another character.

An odd question, and, to the ear of a southern like myself, rather enigmatically expressed, was put to me during the day by a poor aged man, who attends Mr. S——'s ministry, and with whom I endeavoured to hold a little conversation :—
“What's your wull of our man?” As it was explained to me by one who stood by, acquainted with the local dialect and turn of expression, the question signified :—*“What is your opinion of our minister?”*

July 28. To Garstang.—A very beautiful morning. The heavy showers of yesterday had laid the dust, just as the roads needed it. At about four miles from Manchester, a magnificent building, of which we had previously heard nothing, appeared all at once in our sight. Although the front was only just finished, yet the edifice bore resemblance, from its size and architecture, to some grand palace, or magnificent mansion of old times. It stretched its front before us to an extent of nearly two hundred yards, and I found, on inquiry, that it was to be a school for the children of the Manchester Union, which includes

thirteen districts, and that arrangements were made for the accommodation of no less than two thousand children. We walked through the most important parts of the edifice—through three capacious school-rooms, admirably arranged, through one of many dormitories, and through the hall, an apartment of great extent, which is also to be used as a chapel. The building is in the old English style, and is the work of a Manchester architect. I was told that it would be finished for the reception of its inmates before the end of the year ; and we left the place full of admiration at the splendid establishment, so soon to be opened and occupied. In saying this, I pass no opinion on the *principle* of these vast assemblages for which Unions and Union schools are built.

The railroad was near and parallel to the turnpike road during a great part of our journey to-day. We had accordingly a very accurate specimen of the state to which so many of the highways of England must ere long be reduced. For mile after mile no carriage, cart, or even traveller of any class passed us. The railroad is so extremely cheap (one penny a mile), and offers so many stations, in constant succession, that the labouring population avail themselves of this mode of locomotion ; and, considering

the value of time in these manufacturing districts, find it the most economical plan thus to proceed to their work, or on their different engagements. As to the old roads, the descriptive passage of the Scripture is literally fulfilled in each clause: "The highways lie waste: the wayfaring man ceaseth." (Is. xxxiii. 8). While as to the railroad, another passage in Scripture is wonderfully exemplified, "Many (perhaps the many) shall run to and fro." (Dan. xii. 4).

Our road for a considerable distance was paved in the middle, and my little grey pony, who, by her shrewdness and observation, very soon found out in France that the draught was lighter on the *pavé* than on any other surface, and therefore, if allowed, used always to push up from either side upon it, soon exhibited her good memory and choice on the subject by here pursuing her old plan. This *pavé*, the solitude of our way, and a line of very lofty bare heights to the right, very much reminded me of some of our French drives in the kindred parts of that country. The language of the people too was to me, as a southern, almost like that heard in a foreign clime, partly from the words themselves, but still more from the accent. I had much difficulty in understanding the Lancashire dia-

lect, and sometimes could not comprehend it at all.

Little attention seems paid to the road ; and though the turnpikes were high and numerous, yet I was told that they were totally inadequate to the expenses ; and with some, to whom we spoke on the subject, an idea seemed to prevail, that if these roads were to be kept up at all, some new measures must be adopted for the purpose.

The view which met our eyes on approaching Preston, was really very grand, and had the claim of perfect dissimilarity from any scene which I had ever witnessed. On turning round a corner of the road, a lofty and richly wooded ridge of considerable height extended itself, at about a mile distance, across the whole horizon before us ; while on the top of this ridge, cutting the sky in bold relief, stood in single file, several gigantic factories.

I never had seen any such buildings occupying a similar position, or indeed having any other effect than that of spoiling their neighbourhood as to the picturesque. But here, though I can only speak for ourselves, as to their effect, we thought them very striking features, and I know that to us they were objects of a long and admiring gaze.

The day was bright, while a fresh breeze, which was blowing at the time, rapidly dispersed the ascending smoke, instead of allowing it to hang darkly and heavily around. But, above all, the bold features of the neighbouring locality were able without injury, to bear such masses of plain brick work as those which stretched before us along the blue sky. Strange as the subject may seem to the painter, when only thus noticed by the pen, I could not help thinking that the first view of Preston, as seen from this point, and on such a day, would make a fine appearance on canvas ; and my desire certainly was to have, at all events, a sketch of the scene. Perhaps some passing thoughts of the grandeur of English enterprize and trade contributed to such feelings. And why should they not ?

As we ascended the hill, which led up to the town, I entered into conversation with a mechanic, who was going to his work. He told me, that at the present time there was plenty of employment, and that too at good wages. He added that the men were much better off now than they used to be, from so many being teatallers. As for himself, he said that he should not know the taste of liquor now, so long was it since he had taken any beer or spirits.

On entering Preston we drove up to the largest factory, Mr. Swainson's, and requested permission to see it. My card was asked for, and we were immediately admitted. An intelligent and obliging young man (to whom I take the present opportunity of returning our acknowledgments) showed us over the whole building, and through the various departments of the establishment, so that we might see and understand the process of labour throughout. This led us through a continued series of observations, which extended from that of the uncleaned wool in bales to that of the finished pieces of cotton ready for exportation or immediate use at home.

The cotton-bales were in the top story, at an immense height from the ground. In order to reach it, we had only to step on a small platform, which was worked in a kind of shaft by pullies, and we were immediately drawn up to the topmost story with perfect ease, and without the smallest feeling of insecurity. Thus all fatigue is obviated; and on inquiry we found that all those engaged in the factory were accustomed to use this pleasant mode of ascent.

I had never seen a cotton factory before; and, as may be supposed, was much impressed with the marvellous character of all the spectacle

around. The situation of the edifice is most airy and lofty, and due ventilation is provided for with all judgment and care. The building is fire-proof from top to bottom. The magnitude of the operations may be supposed, when I mention that fourteen hundred persons are employed, although the machinery is what is called "self-acting," and requires a much smaller number for its operations than machinery of another description, in frequent and common use. Among the remarkable characteristics of the moving and mechanical power, all stirring and working around us, nothing struck me more than the temporary but perfect stoppage of a few seconds which takes place, so as just to give time for some needful object requiring this delay. There was something grand in the regular pause at certain intervals, when all which was before moving, stood still for a moment, and then renewed again its slow but mighty course. I was informed that there was much activity in the cotton trade, and that at the present moment it chiefly resulted from the large orders for China.

We slept at Garstang, a small town with a very pleasant inn. Indeed, along the whole of this northern road, from hence to Glasgow, we found a succession of small and neat stopping

places—mostly in rural situations, with well-furnished and clean apartments, every attention, and very moderate charges. Most of their names will be found in the course of the ensuing pages. In general we met them at every six or seven miles : and I mention them, hoping, that in spite of present appearances, the fine high-roads of England, and her trim rural inns may not be quite forsaken by travellers.

CHAPTER IV.

A Quarry Garden—Beauty of the Scene—Lancaster—Lancaster Gaol—State of Crime—Passage of the Sands—The Lakes—Wordsworth.

July 29. Garstang to Kendal.—This morning was delightful, and we had proceeded about four miles when we came all at once on a scene of the utmost floral beauty, appearing in a singularly formed garden, close to us at the road-side, and only separated from it by a light iron fence, just sufficient to effect security from the ingress of animals. In fact, all was arranged on the liberal principle, that the road passengers were to be the spectators most to be considered, as the garden presented a theatric and semi-circular form, sloping down and opening towards the highway. The sight was most captivating. A rich assemblage of shrubbery, trees, plants, and flowers, with mown turf in each appropriate place, and matted foliage, creeping and hanging

about on every jutting eminence, in the most varied profusion, and all lit up with a bright sun—such was the spectacle before us.

Having for some time gazed at the scene from the road, we asked of an old woman at a cottage, or kind of porter's lodge (for no other house was within sight) whether we might walk into the garden. Permission was granted at once, and we wandered about freely by ourselves for some time, much enjoying each successive compartment of a place, in which wildness and decoration are most beautifully blended.

We were praising and admiring all that we saw around, when suddenly we came in sight of a gentleman who was working among the flowers with every appearance of industry and zeal. He was the proprietor : he received us most courteously, and told us the history of this charming scene. He said that he had entirely formed it himself, and that it had resulted from the labour and attention of twenty years.

I should certainly have supposed, from the growth and maturity of the plants, that it could scarcely have been effected during a shorter period. The rough cavity of a large stone-pit was the original site, and by little and little the garden had reached its present extent, beauty, and perfection. Independent of the lovely

forms and colours at our feet, the distant view was fine, embracing a rich valley, and mountain-heights beyond. To a real admirer of a highly dressed garden, or one wishing to arrange a wild spot in any similar manner, a visit to this quarry-garden would well repay a journey of some length. I could not help thinking of Virgil's beautiful lines, as at all events applying to the scene, and perhaps to its owner.

“ *Nec fertilis illa juvencis,
Nec pecori opportuna seges, nec commoda Baccho.
Hic rarum tamen in dumis olus albaque circum
Lilia, verbenasque premens vescumque papaver,
Regum æquabat opes animis.*

GEORG. IV. 128.

On driving away, we passed the residence of the proprietor, a small neat house on the hill to the left, but quite unconnected with the garden which I have described. The absence of a residence there—for the old woman's house is small and almost hidden by the trees—gives a peculiarity of character to the whole scene, which may be well imagined.

We were now approaching Lancaster. The first view of that town is magnificent, as seen from the hill at about a mile distance. The old castle—now a gaol—stands up boldly and prominently, backed in the distance by the mountains of Cumberland and Westmoreland,

while broad sheets of water, flowing eastward and westward, give light and variety to the prospect. The position of the town—the form of the castle—and the eminence, on which it stands, bring foreign localities vividly and accurately to the recollection of a traveller.

I employed my spare time at Lancaster by a visit to the gaol, which is partly ancient and partly modern ; the old edifice, with which the name of John of Gaunt, the “ time-honoured Lancaster,” is connected, having been, with considerable additions and reparations, employed as the county gaol. I was shown with much civility through the whole edifice, and the various apartments of the prisoners. I had within a fortnight visited another county gaol, that at Reading, in Berkshire, where the system of separate cells and solitary confinement is adopted ; while here, although there is a certain *classification* of the prisoners, still the whole arrangements of the gaol are quite of another character. I have no thought of entering here on the grand question of Prison Discipline, but I certainly can never see or direct my attention to an institution of the kind without a sense of the paramount importance of keeping, by due and legitimate means, the young offenders from the old, and the culprits incarcerated for

STATE OF CRIME.

some slight crime from those who are hardened in guilt and iniquity. My feelings on this subject were much strengthened and quickened by some conversations which I once held with a very intelligent Governor of a county gaol. Instead of being himself inured to this admixture by long use, he represented to me its mischief and dreadful effects, in a manner which I shall not easily forget.

It was gratifying to hear from one of the officers of the prison, that crime—so far as could be judged from the prison records—had much diminished in this very populous and important county. While he had remembered—even within the last four years—no fewer than three hundred and ninety-eight in the prison, there were now but one hundred and forty. The same individual showed me that fearful engine—the drop—taken to pieces and put aside, I trust, for many years to come. The hanging-beam bears an awful testimony to its use in the grazed mark which the rope, whence each unhappy man was suspended at the time of his execution, had made in the blackened wood. My informant had twice seen eight persons hanging on the beam at once, on account of various crimes, and once he had seen no less than nine! On the latter occasion

it was for high treason, and riotous proceedings of a character most dangerous to the peace and welfare of the country.

Shortly after leaving Lancaster, we saw on our left the tract of sand, alternately covered and left bare by the sea, and forming the upper part of Morecombe Bay, between the coasts of Lancashire and Westmoreland. These sands are constantly traversed by carriages and foot passengers; and here I looked for the first time and with intense interest on a trackway such as this, stretching far across the sands. Some of the most exciting dangers and spirit-stirring scenes, to which the traveller can in any clime be subject, have been those connected with the rising and pursuing tide on such an expanse as this. Many a tale has been embellished with these narratives, but many more have been the true histories of danger and escape—of terror and of courage—of life and death witnessed on a surface like this—smooth but perilous—tempting, though so treacherous. When I looked along the wide and shining expanse of the far-spreading sand, I could discover no moving object whatsoever; but the more experienced eye of a dweller in the neighbourhood, with whom I was conversing at the time, saw at once and pointed out to me one solitary

vehicle, about half-way, slowly creeping onward across this strange highway. To one familiar with this part of the country, the passage must be too well known for him to share in our feelings, as we viewed it from a distance; but to us it would have been one of vivid interest; and we could not help wishing that our intended line had been in that direction. As it was, however, our plans obliged us to advance northward without diverging from our course. We were also compelled to leave "the Lakes" unvisited, notwithstanding the attraction of those mountain heights, which rose so high in all their varied forms, and within which we knew that the fair watery gems, known by that name, were set in all their beauty. The evening was clear and every line in the prospect was, for an English landscape, very accurately and sharply defined. The country in the foreground appeared well cultivated, and cherished with much care; and many habitations, apparently belonging to small landed proprietors, were scattered amongst the hills.

We journeyed on, much enjoying our drive, though not without an intermixture of regret that we had thus to pass, as if it were common ground, that which is perhaps the most lovely region which England's isle contains on

its surface—the region too, where the Patriarch Poet of the Lakes has shed the beauty of high and poetic thought over each mountain, dell, and stream, connected with his verse, and where he still dwells in all true fidelity and permanent attachment to the scene of his early choice.

CHAPTER V.

Kendal—Railroad Labourers—Their dress and appearance— Their character—Ministry among them—Its effects—Shap Fells— Railroad work—Its danger exemplified at Reading.

WE much admired the approach to Kendal as we advanced towards it through a verdant valley, with a fine knoll of ground crowned by a castle, fronting us as we advanced. The heights on the left of Kendal are extremely steep, while, on the right, the ground descends rapidly. The position seems inconvenient for a large and flourishing town, but I should presume that it must give such facilities for drainage as to promote the healthiness of the place in no ordinary degree.

The Poet Gray, in his Epistolary Journal of a Tour to the Lakes of Cumberland and Westmoreland, addressed to Dr. Wharton,

somewhat curiously describes Kendal: "The town consists chiefly of three nearly parallel streets, almost a mile long; except these, all the other houses seem as if they had been dancing a country-dance, and were worn out; there they stand back to back, corner to corner, some up hill, some down, without intent or meaning."

A vast number of railroad men were loitering about the streets telling their avocation by their mien, dress, and general appearance in a way that cannot be mistaken by any one who has lived in the neighbourhood of their work, or at all events observed them with any degree of interest and attention. Exactly as I remember them standing in groups, or slowly strolling about the streets at Reading, after their day's work was done, so I found them at Kendal this evening, telling at once the nature of their avocation by their clay-coloured garments, their strong bodily development, and their independent bearing. My present notice of their dress recalls to my memory some particulars of their peculiar tastes on this subject, as indulged in on holidays and Sundays. Then, in many instances, their costume is very handsome, and no small sums are expended upon it. I have seen them clad in coats of the finest broad

cloth, and of such copious dimensions that they would certainly have made two garments of the same kind for many a slim young gentleman. Their tailor's bill must of course have been in accordance with the size of the garment. To this was often added a velvet waistcoat, figured, of red, or of some other brilliant colour, adorned with hanging buttons of equally showy pattern. Nor must I forget the corduroys, and highly polished lace boots. The dress of their wives too was sometimes of a costly and showy description ; and altogether there was something very peculiar in the appearance of one of these high-dressed labouring men, accompanied by his wife to Church—especially when coming for the baptism of a child, or on any other marked incident in their lives.

I have also alluded already to their physical strength. The arm of a robust railroad man is quite an extraordinary spectacle. I do not exaggerate in saying, that I have seen it twice the size of that of an ordinary labourer. I have sat among them reading and explaining the Scriptures, while nine or ten of them, as hearers, were arranged on a bench in a line close before me, and I have more than once found my attention wandering from my subject, and fixed with astonishment on the gigantic size of their limbs,

as developed by muscular exertion, among men qualified by constitution to bear it.*

As to their independent mien, I have only one remark to make here, which is, that I would earnestly recommend to all ministers and others interested in their spiritual and moral welfare, and desirous “to have fruit among them even as among others,” not to mistake it for insolence or repulsiveness; nor at all to suppose that they are less susceptible of kindness and attention than others, engaged in hard and rough toil, and removed from all influences of a softening and ameliorating character. Just let it be proved to them that you have their interest at heart, by attention to some of their number in cases of sickness, or any circumstances where sympathy can be shown. Just let them be addressed

* It is well known that the men work in gangs, or small parties, under the direction of one head, who is a kind of middle-man between the contractor for the work, and the men who do the work. A certain amount of labour is to be done by this body in common, so that if any individual of the party is weak or unequal in any way to his proportionate share of the task, the others must suffer accordingly, and do among them his work. It may naturally be supposed that this renders the whole party very watchful, cautious, and alert as to those admitted. And I have heard that a new-comer is sometimes put to the following test of his corporeal strength and endurance. An instrument, like an immense paviour’s mallet, is placed in his hand, and with this he has to strike a certain number of blows, without stopping or resting, in the presence of those witnesses most interested in his physical capacity to take his due share in their allotted toil.

in plain, hearty, friendly, short, significant language, and not in a cold essay-like style. Just let them be treated as if you knew somewhat of their temptations, their difficulties, and of their obstacles in the pursuit of a godly life—gregarious wayfarers as they are—and you will awaken their interest, you will gain their affection; you will, by God's blessing, be instrumental in turning them also, like any other class, from the error of their ways, and in leading them to serve God through Jesus Christ, our one common Lord. At least, you may expect that some will be thus impressed; and what is any ministry but the effectual conveyance of God's truth to some of those who outwardly hear it. When Paul himself "persuaded concerning Jesus, both out of the Law of Moses, and out of the Prophets, from morning till evening, what was the result? That all believed? No! Some believed and some believed not." (Acts xxviii. 24). I well know the value of instances which one has met with oneself;* and I therefore have introduced in the

* A vast number of railroad men were assembled for some time at Reading for carrying on their work in that neighbourhood. Very few of them appeared in church, and their conduct, on the whole, was undoubtedly of a very ungodly and dissolute character. Some of my valued clerical friends of the town, in conjunction with myself, adopted certain measures towards their spiritual welfare, such as that of distributing Bibles and Tracts among them,

note two instances, where in my own humble, and, after all, but very scanty endeavours to

together with short but earnest invitations to attend the House of God; and a special service was opened for their benefit in my church, at a certain period of the week, when it seemed most likely that some of them might be gathered in to hear the word of God. During the progress of these measures, I went along the line, one evening, to meet the men on their return from work, in company with two of my brethren, our object being to address all who would listen to us, whether singly or whether in small parties, on the subject of their souls. One of these was the Rev. J. N. Allen, now one of the Chaplains to Her Majesty's Forces in India, and the author of a most engaging and impressive volume, entitled "Diary of a March through Scinde and Afghanistan with the troops under the command of General Sir William Nott." My friends were soon engaged in the good work, addressing little groups of listeners who quickly gathered around them. I went onward towards the place where the main body was usually collected to receive their wages on that evening of the week; and all at once, on turning the corner of a hedge, found myself unexpectedly among a crowd of the workmen, of above two hundred in number, who, in consequence of a slight shower, had collected under the shelter of some trees. I was in a certain degree known to some of them, and they immediately collected in a circle round me; many of them asking me what I wanted among them; some of them charging me with being a character very unpopular with them, that is a tea-totaller, and others with being a Ranter, mixing with their observations, oaths, threats, and no slight share of ridicule. "What do you come among us for? Don't you know that we are like a set of wild horses, who wouldn't mind knocking your brains out?" Or, "We don't care for such chaps as you. All we want is beef, and beer, and a good song." However, at the same time a few were endeavouring to get for me a hearing. I had a small Bible in my hand, and took advantage of a lull in the storm of tongues to commence the perusal of our Lord's words on the Brazen Serpent. By raising my voice, and making some quick answers to some of the most direct and troublesome opponents, I was enabled, after a few minutes, to obtain perfect silence, which

advance the religious condition of the railroad men, I have personally experienced the truth

I thankfully employed in preaching the Gospel of Christ according to the glorious passage which I had just read. I have seldom witnessed a more striking change than that which came over the countenances and the mien of these rough and (as it might have seemed a few minutes before) impenetrable men. Tears appeared in many eyes when I had done. Some shook hands with me; many thanked me. All contradiction, abuse, and ridicule had passed away. I trust that much good ensued, and indeed it would have been wrong and faithless to doubt it. One instance came to my knowledge, which I shall now relate.

Among those assembled was a man of about thirty-five years old, who had lived a notoriously ungodly life. Among his vices were drunkenness, swearing, and not only a total neglect of the Lord's day and house, but also such a prejudice against its observance that he actually took strong and wicked measures to prevent his wife from pursuing any line of conduct on that matter superior to his own.

On the evening of the day to which I allude, this man went home, and said that he had heard a gentleman speak to the men about the Brazen Serpent and Jesus Christ, and added that he would like to hear him again. He immediately became a regular attendant at my church, and gave up all his wicked and ungodly habits in a most remarkable and decided way. He delighted in hearing the Bible read to him every evening, and above all used to ask for the psalms. About three months after, having on the evening before been thus engaged, he went out to his work early in the morning in that full strength and vigour of frame for which the railroad men are so remarkable. At ten o'clock he was no more. A mass of earth and gravel falling upon him, had crushed him utterly dead in a moment! Can we doubt of that man's change, ere his appointed time had arrived? Can we refuse to notice God's sovereign grace, or the power of His Spirit and Word, in His blessing on a few, stammering, confused words of one of His servants? God forbid!

I shall give one instance more, showing that the most abandoned characters may be softened in due time, although, in one's own

of those scriptural assurances ; how the word of God “shall prosper in the thing whereto He

short-sighted, heartless view, one might have almost thought the individual in question, even as one of the swine, before whom the Gospel and the Word were pearls all idly flung.

One day, when passing a public-house, not far from my church, I heard a loud quarrel inside among a body of about twenty railroad men. Thinking it my duty to try to act as “peace-maker,” I went in and addressed them on their conduct, and here I was protected from absolute violence—for most of them were drunk—by two or three who knew me. One of the party was, however, quite furious, and abused me in worse terms than I have ever been subjected to on any other occasion which I happen to remember, following me out into the road, and only prevented from striking me by some who held him back. “Pray don’t have anything to do with him,” said they, “he’s the worst man on the line.” Among other things he said to me, was this : “They talked of your giving away books ! You wouldn’t give *me* one, I’m sure.” “Indeed,” said I, “I will. You shall have one left for you wherever you like.” His lodging was named, and it was my intention to have given him a Testament, when I next passed that way. However about two days after, and before I had left the book, I met him again, drunk. He immediately commenced language of an abusive kind against me, and, among other things said I had not kept my word. I told him my intention, and fulfilled it accordingly.

I heard nothing of him for about three months, and had quite forgot the circumstances, when one day as I was riding fast along the road, a man, who was walking alone, sprang from the path, and taking off his hat, was in an instant almost under my horse’s feet, as if determined, at all hazards, to have an interview. He was quite sober, and said eagerly, “Do you remember me, Sir?” “No,” said I, “I have no particular recollection of you.” “I am the man, Sir, who abused you so shamefully at the (mentioning the name of the public-house where the transaction occurred) and I’m very sorry for it, and I want to ask your pardon.” “You have it, I am sure, but you should ask pardon from God for this and all your other sins.” “Indeed I do, Sir, many times, and I ought. I

sends it ;” how His message of salvation can break the heart of stone “as with a hammer ;” how if we cast our bread by the side of all waters, it shall and will return to us after many days.

Kendal to High Hesket.—Having to-day to cross that wild and desolate district of mountain, called the Shap Fells, fine weather was of some consequence to us ; and though dark, stormy clouds were flying about, and occasionally hovered over us, yet they only threatened, and did us no hurt. Brightness and gloom rapidly succeeded one another. Sometimes under such circumstances, the feeling of *exemption* is very pleasant, and illustrates a truth, holding good in matters of more consequence. In them also I doubt not that the alternating sun and cloud are oftentimes in their combination, more productive of true happiness in life, than if no cause of apprehension ever came nigh us, as a thing to be deprecated, or ever was transformed into a boon,

have been very ill since that time, and then I read the book you gave me, and it did me a deal of good.”

After a little more conversation, I bade him farewell, and went on my way rejoicing at this fresh testimony to the power of God’s Holy Word, where, perhaps, there was the least possible ground for anticipating such effects, according to our own faithless and narrow views.

May these instances encourage many who may have to deal with rough and hardened characters, such as those of whom I have now spoken !

through the sense of exemption from its stroke. But to return from this short digression on a very interesting subject, as connected with our appointed journey in life, to the minor subject of our journey this day.

Our first stage—a long one, certainly—was from Kendal to Shap; and during this course we ascended and descended a very steep mountain height, which in wildness and desolation was unequalled by any thing which I have hitherto witnessed in England. But even this barren range was not without its usefulness, inasmuch as it offered abundance of peat for fuel, exactly resembling that of an Irish bog, and cut here just in the same manner, dark black pits being excavated in the soil.

Unpromising as such a district would seem to the traveller, while pursuing the present road, as a prospective line of railway, still the engineering and speculative enterprise of the day has already commenced this very undertaking. As we approached Shap, we came in sight of the railroad works, and of the wooden huts erected as temporary dwellings for the workmen. The landlady at Shap told me much of their habits and character in this neighbourhood, and described them as in no slight degree turbulent and unmanageable. Among other things, she narrated

her schemes for accommodating them, as visitors to her house, without danger to her crockery, premises, and property in general. She prepared a room expressly for them outside her house, put in it a strong table, and some dozen of tin mugs, and had it plentifully strewn with sawdust. This is their reception room. According to her account, breakage and fighting necessitated these measures. Lately there were no less than eight hundred railroad men here, though the number is now diminished ; and I was glad to hear that a temporary chapel had been established at Shapwell Spa, and a chaplain appointed by the directors for the benefit of their labourers on the line. During our sojourn of a few hours at this inn, we had an exemplification of the hazardous manner, as regards life and limb, with which the peculiar work of railroad making is attended—why, I cannot tell. We saw from the window a railroad man gallop by on a large cart-horse towards the neighbouring village. On inquiry, we found that he was a messenger going with all speed for a surgeon in behalf of one of his companions, who had just had his leg smashed in a dreadful manner by a waggon, at the critical moment of "*tippling*," a process which has involved a vast amount of death and mutilation. Well do I remember the number of men wounded

by the same means, who used to be carried by my house to the hospital at Reading.

The danger of the system will be seen at once, when I mention that, in *tipping*, a man runs by the side of a horse attached to a waggon of soil until the moment when, loosing a kind of pin or peg, he thus causes the waggon to *tip* over its contents, while the horse turns round and escapes as he can. Another very frequent cause in the same vicinity, was that of excavation, and especially at the deep cut near Sonning. A large body of railroad men used to undermine, or "hole" (as it was called) the gravel beneath, while another stood on the top to watch the moment of the soil's cracking, preparatory to its descent, and to give warning accordingly. On his observation and celerity in so doing the limbs and lives of the men depended; and I have seen five or six men bounding backwards, at the imminent hazard of their lives, from among the falling soil and fragments, slipping from above in immense weight and magnitude. As the slightest appearance of fear would have been as much scoffed at in the "gang" as among soldiers on a field of battle, and, as the most culpable hardihood was frequently displayed, many terrific accidents occurred. It used to be a mournful thing to see—as I frequently did—the

slow procession of workmen walking away from the works in the neighbourhood above-mentioned, and carrying the covered frame employed for the melancholy purpose of conveying the maimed, and perhaps dying sufferer to the hospital. Fearfully appropriate to the period, to which I refer, was the erection and establishment of that most important institution, at Reading, where I well remember praying with the first patient received, who was, to the best of my recollection, a wounded railroad labourer. One of the surgeons, a gentleman, too, who has seen much practice, assured me that, during the two first years of the progress of the line in the neighbourhood of Reading, he had to operate on, and had attended more wounded men than during his whole professional life before. Surely there is something most culpable in those who have authority, if any dangerous process is permitted, which precaution or attention on their parts could by any means obviate. I cannot help apprehending that this must be admitted as no unfrequent case.

CHAPTER VI.

Superior Farm-house—Penrith—Lord Brougham—The White Ox—Carlisle—Paley—Gretna Green—The Scotch Church—Patronage.

AFTER advancing three or four miles beyond Shap, we entered a fine wooded district, backed on the right by lofty ranges of mountain. The aged and luxuriant woods, and the general appearance of the country here seemed to betoken the neighbourhood of some wealthy and long-established proprietor. Presently we passed a first-rate farm-house and offices on the left. I thought it quite a model of a wealthy tenant-farmer's residence : for, while it had no pretence or assumption of *gentility*, or of being any thing but a *bonâ fide* farm-house, it united every appliance for comfort and convenience of the family with proximity to the yards, out-buildings, and all those offices, from which the master's eye should at no time be long absent.

I found on inquiry that Lord Lonsdale was the landlord, and that we were now close to Lowther Castle ; but on asking a man who was working at the road-side whether we could see it from the road :—" *Naw*," said he, with a pronunciation very different to that which I have been accustomed to as the well-known syllable of negation.

Shortly after we passed through a very neat and decorated village, called, I believe, Hackthorp, of the most pleasing character as to all the objects connected with it, saving and excepting one, viz. : that in a small garden close by the road-side, some armless and legless statues, large as life, were very prominently exhibited. Certainly these figures raise no unpleasant feeling as seen in galleries of statuary, but my thoughts on the poor railroad sufferer, amputations, &c., gave me this day a peculiar distaste for any such spectacle.

The next town which we came to was Penrith, or the " Red Hill," and well it deserves its name, from the deep red hue of the stone visible all around, and employed in its buildings. About a mile before reaching Penrith, we observed a fine baronial castle rising out of lofty and clustered woods upon our left hand. I inquired to whom it belonged, and was answered to Lord Brougham.

As parliament was sitting, and his Lordship is generally at his post, unless reporters fabricate and issue speeches in his name, I did not for an instant think of his being now at home ; and, as there is no lodge-gate, we went up to the house, intending to ask whether strangers were allowed to see the castle during his Lordship's absence. We were led to do this as the edifice is of no ordinary character ; and the title, which I saw ascribed to it in the pages of a local guide-book, "The Windsor of the North," conveys a testimony by no means inappropriate to its extent, as well as to the massive and simple grandeur with which it is constructed. As it happened, however, we only had a glimpse of the outside walls and into the two courtyards ; for, just as we reached the entrance gate, with the intention of asking, whether, in the supposed absence of the noble owner, we might be allowed to see the place, a workman, who passed by, mentioned that he was at home. Without more inquiries we retreated as quickly as possible, having too much respect for the privacy of a gentleman's country residence to wish to be seen hovering about his premises without the slightest claim of introduction ; and, let me confess it, somewhat apprehensive of seeing the noble owner appear, and of receiving

a rebuke, for our trespass and curiosity, from one so unpleasant and dangerous to face in any "keen encounter of the wits," or in any predicament where the *copia fandi* might be brought into action.

Shortly after our flight from these precincts, we crossed two rivers at picturesque points, passed into Cumberland, went through Penrith without stopping, and after a hilly, but uninteresting drive, during which we met with heavy rain—the first which had hitherto damped the pleasure of our journey—reached High Hesket, where we slept at the widow Pearson's White Ox Inn ; a worthy landlady, whom I think myself bound to mention, as having charged to us the very smallest sum, in proportion to the supplies provided, which I have ever met with at any inn whatsoever, whether at home or abroad. I remember in one of the Pyrenean passages to have had supper, bed, and breakfast for half-a-crown, and sometimes in the midland and southern parts of France to have been quite surprised at the moderation of the bills for copious and luxurious fare. I may speak also very favourably as to the demands on our purse in all those pleasant country inns, frequented by us during this journey in the north of England ; but the widow Pearson's bill

was one which, for its trifling amount, certainly stands unparalleled in my locomotive experience, and I could not help making her a small present in addition to her claim. Whether the White Ox can prosper on such terms, is a question which I leave to be decided by a jury of landlords ; but, while some journals are full of accounts of imposition, I think that a notice of a contrary character should not be withheld.

Having introduced this pecuniary subject, I add an amusing qualification attributed to my ponies on their way, in addition to the many merits for which they have attracted some portion of interest from their French and Spanish expedition. The qualification is that of *paying bills*, for this is the literal characteristic with which they were honoured two or three days ago at one of the inns where we stopped for the night. It had not been usual to charge for our servant's bed. At one place I saw this item, and mentioned it. The waiter said, " Oh, there is a mistake. The ponies pay for his bed," an observation, which translated into less technical language, signified that where a horse was entertained and paid for, the groom's bed was gratis.

High Hesket to Lockerby in Scotland.—The first stage of our journey to-day was to Carlisle,

a city with an interesting local history attached. In years, comparatively recent, there are two points to be observed in its records of an important character, as connected with the annals of our country. Firstly, the Siege of the City by the Parliamentary forces in the year 1644, which ended in its capitulation on the 28th June in the succeeding year, after extreme privation and endurance, underwent by the garrison and citizens ; and secondly, its surrender in 1745 to the Pretender ; though certainly on this occasion there was so much feebleness and weakness displayed on both sides, that no honour whatsoever was gained either by the yielding or the successful party. To call the former defeated, or the latter victorious would be quite an abuse of the two respective terms.

As to the Carlisle Cathedral, only half of the original structure remains. Cromwell was the author of this semi-destruction. The edifice reminded me of the Cathedral of Tulle, in France, which suffered a similar fate in the Revolution. There, however, the nave remains, and the choir is no longer in existence. Here the case is reversed. A part of the ruined fragments has been turned into a small parish church, where I believe that service is regularly held.

The admirers of Paley—and in a certain

line of writing, I mean the investigation and exhibition of the *external* evidences of Christianity, he deserves the admiration of all—may see his monument here. The tablet is as simple as the inscription :

WILLIAM PALEY,
ARCHDEACON AND CHANCELLOR
OF THE DIOCESE,
DIED MAY 23, 1805,
AGED 62.

Our next stage was to that celebrated locality, Gretna Green, or, as it is spelt here, Graitna Green. Just before its conclusion, we crossed a small stream which forms the division between England and Scotland. A turnpike gate is situated at the very confines on the Scotch side ; and, accordingly, many couples have been married at the very house occupied by the gate-keeper, as being the first on the south side of the border. However, the inn at which the matrimonial engagement is usually contracted, stands about a mile farther on, and occupies a very pleasant situation in the middle of a sloping green of considerable extent, and scattered over with orchard trees. Resting here for luncheon, we were shown into the very apartment usually occupied by the fugitive couples—a handsome and well-furnished room. We were told that the last marriage was about a week ago.

Here I saw the first specimen of a parish church in this country, and, certainly, it was any thing but graceful or prepossessing in its form and architecture. While I was looking at it, an old man, apparently of the humblest class in society, came down to wait for the stage coach, which was expected in a few minutes. Entering into conversation with him, I asked him where the old blacksmith lived, of whom we in England had heard so much, as officiating here on matrimonial occasions.

“ Oh,” said he, “ he is dead monny a generation ago. The maun up at the inn, he marries them noo, and the maun at the toll-gate below, he marries heaps o’ ’em. But we hear it’s all ganging to be din away, and a gude thing too. There’s monny a young couple comes here without kenning what they’re aboot, and gets thenselves fashed and into trouble all their life afterwards.”

Turning to another subject, on which I was very desirous of ascertaining the feeling of all classes, and speaking to one who showed that he had some common sense in his head, by the answer just reported, I pointed to the church, and said: “ Is that church well filled with people on a Sunday ?”

“ Weel, I canna just say that it is.”

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“ And why ? ” I inquired.

“ Oh ! there’s monny reasons.”

“ Perhaps you will oblige me by telling me some of them.”

“ He’s a patronage man, and none of us here, —that is, varry few like *them*. It’s a bad thing, that patronage. It ought to be all din away. They don’t applee themselves as they ought. We dinna like them here.”

I had thus, before I had been half an hour in Scotland, a strong and decided instance of the feeling so prevalent among the common people of Scotland on a subject totally disregarded in England, but of such an exciting character throughout the length and breadth of this land in which we now are. The man said much on the subject, which I have not introduced, and with more strength of feeling than accurate apprehension of the question. This, however, must always be the case with many, on any great controversial subject of the kind.

CHAPTER VII.

Lockerby—Annandale—Scotch cottagers — Weather — Hamilton Palace — The Ponies—Glasgow — The Scotch Sabbath — Charitable Institutions.

WE went on to Lockerby for the night, passing on our way many cottages of the poor. They were decidedly inferior to those of England, and the marked difference is thus speedily observable to one crossing the border. In appearance they were more allied to the Irish cabin, but I saw none so miserable as those which, I lament to say, so frequently meet the eye in that country. At the inn at Lockerby (the King's Arms, where we had a very civil landlord) we were soon reminded of being in the "land of cakes." Two or three sorts, with marmalade and jelly, in addition to the usual fare of the tea-table, were here set before us.

Just as we were retiring to bed, I heard a carriage pass by at a very speedy rate, but not too

fast for the accompaniment and pursuit of a large number of people, who were shouting loudly, whether in praise or blame I could not at the time ascertain. But, on asking about the noise in the morning, I was informed by the maid “that it was an expression of public feeling regarding an inhabitant of the town, who had just returned, after an acquittal on a charge of the most serious kind.” The population were evidently strong in their feelings against the individual in question, notwithstanding the decision of the Court, and were giving vent to their opinion in no measured terms.

To Abingdon.—Our first stage to-day was to Beatoek Bridge, where we found a commodious and well-furnished inn, built by government, (as I heard) for the benefit of travellers on this new line of road. The earlier part of our drive to-day was through the fair valley of Annandale, and was rendered extremely pleasant by the sight of very accurate and superior cultivation of the soil, of well ordered farmsteads, and (with a few exceptions) of very neat and convenient habitations for the poor. Asking who the chief proprietors were, I was answered :—“The Duke, Sir, (which here, and usually in the south of Scotland means his Grace of Buccleugh) and Hope Johnstone.” Heather-clad hills, with a

considerable share of good pasture on them, rose on each side, chiefly grazed by sheep.

Shortly after leaving Beatoch Bridge, we entered a lonely mountainous district, through which our course continued during the rest of the day. The road ascended, though not steeply, for a considerable distance, and nothing but mountain was in sight for above twenty miles. Having accomplished this stage, and, coming into the vicinity of Abingdon, where the termination of our day's course was to be, I inquired for an inn, of which we had previously heard. A by-stander showed me a handsome house a few hundred yards off, which at that distance looked exactly like a private gentleman's residence. There we lodged for the night, and found that it had been built by Sir E. Colebroke, a large proprietor in the neighbourhood. The rooms were extremely well furnished, and around us we had views of fine mountain scenery, while the more immediate foreground was raised and enlivened by trees, a broad sparkling river, and very compact and comfortable farm-houses.

During the evening we entered into conversation with some cottagers' wives; and very merry, intelligent, and communicative women they were, although our ignorance of the Scotch diction and accent rendered us unable to catch

all they said, as on the other hand our language was heard by them with the same disadvantage.

We went into three cottages to examine their condition. In each of them the beds occupied recesses in the room on the ground floor, where the family lived, and very much resembled berths on board of a ship. Two of them were neat, with plentiful furniture and crockery. We asked one of them how her husband was employed. The answer was: "In draining the hills yonder." His wages were twelve shillings a week.

It amused us to see the little Scotch boys skilfully managing their plaids, during the heavy showers which occasionally fell to-day, and making with them a complete covering for their bodies, shifting them here and there, according to the point of the wind.

The drive of to-day would have been dreary, had it not been for weather exactly of that character best suited for effect in passing through mountainous scenery. We had a quick succession of bright blue sky, of thick dark clouds flying fast over the heights around, and of warm glowing sunshine. These colours and changes of the sky, as marking the heather-clad hills, had a very fine effect, and quite obviated any thing like dreariness or monotony in our course.

August 2. Abingdon to Glasgow.—Our course to-day led us through eight additional miles of moor and mountain scenery, during the early part of our journey. We then reached a fertile and verdant country, which continued until our arrival at Glasgow. Near the town of Hamilton we first saw the Clyde—in this vicinity a narrow river, but with steep, picturesque, wooded banks. We visited Hamilton Palace, a real palace in size and character ; more convenient too as a place of residence than most residences of the kind, and in some measure reminding me of palaces abroad occupied by royal families of minor rank and condition. I may cite, for instance, the Palace of Manheim, familiar to travellers on the Rhine, and belonging to the Princess Stephanie, whose daughter has lately been married to the Duke of Hamilton's son.

The day was wet, chilly, and unfavourable. Hence the scantiness of my notices. The effect, which is made on a passing stranger by the scenery of any district, must be so lowered by bad weather, that the less said on the subject the better, when under such influence, except, indeed, when there is such surpassing grandeur and sublimity of local feature, as in some measure to render the place independent of all

accidental circumstances. I say, in some measure, because while there are variations of those of sun and gloom, the dim east, and the clear north-west wind, the rapid showers which gush forth in sparkling drops from some fleeting cloud, on a bright April day, and the heavy, hopeless, unceasing pour, no scenery whatever can be altogether independent of weather, and hence oftentimes arises the extraordinary discrepancy, with which the very same locality is often described by two travellers, or even viewed by the same individual at two distinct periods. I have often experienced myself more pleasure in the sight of a few tufts of grass, or a little tangled coppice-wood on a sunny day, than when gazing at forests and all kinds of magnificent objects, but with the unfavourable accompaniments of dimness or gloom in the atmosphere. Light—light is the grand beautifier—both in natural and spiritual things.

We entered Glasgow late on Saturday evening, having accomplished the journey from Manchester to Glasgow since Monday morning. This seems to have been considered rather an extraordinary performance for my little ponies, and judges in equestrian matters have said that it would have tried the powers of most full-grown horses. My servant and myself

watched them most carefully, to see whether they were exhibiting the slightest sign of fatigue or indisposition ; and, had this been the case, we should of course have adopted a more tardy course. I must say that the weather and the state of the roads were both most favourable for our expedition ; and far from the ponies showing any signs of overwork or exhaustion, one of them continued so fat, that an ostler pushing in her side with much apparent satisfaction, and gazing at her, as an artist at some picture, said : “ Well, *you* look as if you were always at home at dinner-time !”

I admired much the broad and symmetrical streets of Glasgow, as well as the many fine statues and monuments with which it is richly adorned. The residences in the new town are large, commodious, and built of stone. I know no town whose residents seem to me better lodged than the citizens of Glasgow.

The Sunday appeared to me admirably kept. My expectations were highly raised as to the due observance of the Sabbath in Scotland ; and on this, my first occasion of being able to judge as an eye-witness, I can undoubtedly testify that all my expectations were abundantly fulfilled. I looked up the long line formed by the Tron-gate and Argyle Street, just at the time when

the chief stir might have been expected, and I could not see one single vehicle abroad. What a contrast with a similar view, at the same time of day, down Oxford Street or Piccadilly, the corresponding thoroughfares of London. At each hour of public worship the people were to be seen crossing one another in dense throngs on their way to service: the men, even to the class of manual labourers, clad for the most part in good habiliments of black cloth. Close to our hotel—that of Mr. Josez, near to the railway station, and one, by the bye, which I can highly recommend for cleanliness, attention, and general superiority of accommodation—was an immense chapel, of which Dr. Wardlaw was the minister. Such a full body of song proceeded from the numerous worshippers at his chapel, that I heard it a considerable distance in the neighbouring streets. My time, and indeed my opportunities for obtaining information on religious matters in Glasgow, whether as regards the Episcopal, the Established, or the Free Church, were so extremely limited, that I shall prefer, as yet, to keep silence on the subject, and will beg my readers to remember that this is my first Sunday in Scotland.

At Glasgow we had the gratification of meeting my father-in-law, and other members of his

family. They had been for some weeks in Scotland, were warm in their appreciation of the country and its inhabitants, and gave us most cheering accounts of the grand scenery which they had traversed, of the hospitality which they had received, and of the characters which they had met in various classes of life. In their company and under the kind and intelligent guidance of J. C. C—, Esq., M.P. for N—, whose country place is within a few miles of the town, we visited, on Monday, the Glasgow Asylum for the Blind, and the Lunatic Asylum in the immediate neighbourhood of the city. Mr. C—, told me there was a third institution of the most interesting character, which, if possible, I should see. He alluded to the Training School, under the able superintendence of David Stowe, Esq. I had brought a line of introduction to that gentleman from a friend in England; but circumstances prevented my seeing him, or the institution under his care, during this visit to Glasgow, and I regret to say that he was absent from town when I called on a subsequent occasion.

In the ensuing chapters, I shall give an account of those two interesting institutions which we visited this day.

CHAPTER VIII.

Blind Asylum—Blind Readers—Geography—Astronomy—Manual Labour—Success of the Institution—Institution for Blind at Leamington—Address to the Blind—Mr. Alstone.

THE Blind Asylum is situated on high and healthy ground near the Cathedral. On our arrival, we were introduced to Mr. Alstone, the Honorary Treasurer, and able acting manager of the whole institution. The cause of the blind is the special department of Christian benevolence to which he has devoted his energies ; and, as most evidently appears from all which is seen in the Asylum, with the utmost efficiency, success, and blessing on his efforts.

I will first mention what we saw ourselves, and then add a few particulars as to the institution in general.

We first entered a room where about twenty blind young women were employed in knitting. Some of the articles on which they were

engaged, required the finest and most delicate work. After a little time, we heard them read extremely well with their fingers ; and, although this would have seemed marvellous indeed not many years ago, yet now the process has been witnessed by so many in public meetings and elsewhere, and the system adopted is so well known, that I shall only add two observations on this part of the subject. The first is, that the Roman alphabet, or letters similar to those in common use for our own reading, in every thing except their raised or embossed form, is employed here, in preference to any of those arbitrary characters, recommended by Gall, Lucas, and others.

The second is, that I have seldom witnessed the delightful sight of the blind reading by the touch, without applying the passage from St. Paul's speech at Athens, and rejoicing that " they should (thus) seek the Lord, if haply they might *feel* after him, and find Him."

At the termination of the reading we examined the arithmetical class, formed of nine blind boys. I do not think that I can explain their proceedings in detail with any probability of its being understood by mere description, and therefore only mention that the sums are done on a board, fitted up with holes, and moveable pegs, which form

different numbers according to the mode of their insertion. This may give some faint notion of the system in use.

We then heard some hymns, very beautifully sung, with the accompaniment of an organ.

The next branch of education to which we were conducted, was that of geography. In facilitating geographical instruction, among other means employed, a very large globe, measuring about nine feet and a half, is used. "The water is made smooth, and the land is distinguished from it by being slightly elevated, and its surface rendered rough by a coating of fine sand, painted in oil of various colours, in order to distinguish to the eye the political divisions. These divisions are also surrounded by a slight prominence, for the purpose of enabling those, for whom the globe is more particularly intended, to grope their way. Rivers are denoted by smooth and slightly raised sinuous lines, traversing the rough land in their proper direction ; mountains by a series of elevations, indicating the position of the range ; and towns by a small brass knob."* I asked a blind boy several questions requiring a very accurate knowledge of geography throughout the world, and he did not fail

* Statements of the arrangements of the Asylum for the Blind. Glasgow, 1844.

in one instance. The comparative size and course of rivers, and the comparative heights of mountains are, as may be expected, represented by raised charts and tables; nor is the knowledge of God's work in creation, as conveyed to the blind, limited only to the earth; no difficulty being found in introducing to their minds, through the organ of touch, the principles of astronomy. The mode of doing this may be easily supposed by any one to whom an orrery is familiar. Geometry and mathematics are the last mental acquisitions which I have to mention here, as being attained by the inmates of the institution; and surely it is one of the most blessed applications of modern art, thus to supply means of interest and occupation to those, who till of late years had little done for their improvement, and were not only shut out from knowledge, as conveyed by the main inlet of the senses, but received little systematic attention as to the faculties remaining for their use. The grievousness of this omission now appears enhanced by the remembrance that, in the case of the blind, the remaining senses are not only as strong as in the seeing, but stronger and clearer still. Hence a loud call for special development of those powers which remain.

I shall not waste time by entering into the

question as to the value of knowledge to the blind. I mean of knowledge such as that which I have here described. All that could be said against it in their case has been said times without number against it as conferred on those who can see ; and times without number all these objections have been utterly refuted.

Our course through another department—that of manual labour and trades, as carried on by the blind—led us first into a room, where ten or twelve individuals, some of them grown up, were employed in weaving coarse sacks. We then saw nine or ten basket-makers, and finally some rope makers. But these are only specimens of the occupations in which blindness appears no impediment to industrious and profitable exertion. In the pamphlet already quoted, I have before me a most interesting page of engraving, representing no less than ten specimens of manual labour, all exemplified and realized in this place. These are net making, winding on a wheel, sewing, knitting, sack printing, flax dressing, mattress making, weaving, basket making and rope making.

Such is the success of the industrial training adopted in the institution, that many, who have been instructed in the house, are now earning from eight to ten shillings a week ; and

thus their hands are made available in the acquisition of an honest maintenance, while their minds are stored with that various knowledge, without which their course of life would have been, comparatively speaking, a mere intellectual blank.

The founder of this asylum was John Leitch, of Glasgow. "He himself had suffered under a partial infirmity of sight, and bequeathed the sum of £5000 towards opening and maintaining the institution." It is surely a most appropriate evidence of sympathy when the rich sufferer thus provides for those among his poorer brethren, who may so closely and literally be termed his *fellow-sufferers*. Perhaps those who never have known the loss or defalcation of that grand blessing, sight, are as urgently called to show their gratitude to God by abundant liberality in behalf of the blind ; but leaving that subject now, I will just mention here that I am acquainted with a lady at Leamington, who, afflicted with blindness herself, and acting in Christian love towards those similarly visited, has so successfully exerted herself, that a small but very interesting institution for the blind is established in that town. From a Report of this year in my possession I see that at the present moment there are ten inmates of the residence,

and four day pupils, while there are other candidates for admission. I copy with much pleasure the first sentence of this Report, as illustrating the simple measures adopted as a commencement at Leamington, and which might be adopted elsewhere with similar ease, and at an expenditure, if need be, of very moderate amount. It will be observed, from the seventh rule of the institution, which I insert below,* that a certain sum is paid by those received, or for them, and also what are the means and qualifications for admission.

“This establishment was first opened on a very small scale in November, 1843, when three day pupils, two men, and a little girl, began to receive instruction in reading in embossed characters. A short time after, a few girls were received as inmates ; and in the course of 1844 the number wishing for instruction was so great that a larger house was taken in October, and boys also were received as inmates and taught basket and mat making, besides finger reading.

* “ That candidates for admission to the institution, with a certificate of good character, shall be recommended by a subscriber, or by the clergyman of the parish in which they are living ; and on being admitted, they shall bring with them payment for three months’ board and washing in advance, on the following terms : Boys and girls under 15 years, 4*s.* a week—Men 5*s.* 6*d.*—and Women, 5*s.* a week. The pupils who do not board in the house shall pay nothing for tuition.”

The blessing that has attended the effort has encouraged the individual, who commenced the work, to hope that it may become an institution of extensive usefulness for this and the neighbouring counties, as no School for the Instruction of the Blind is yet established in the centre of England. She is, therefore, anxious to give the conduct of it to a more methodical character; and by the kindness of those whose names now appear she is enabled to effect this object, sending forth this first Report, with thankfulness for the past, and trusting that it may please the Almighty to continue His blessing to the undertaking."

I am glad to mention an unpretending and comparatively humble establishment like this, because my statement may probably procure for it some contributions, and may also lead others who have it in their power to arrange, in their own sphere, some similar plans. Notwithstanding that much is done for the blind, the visitation is so frequent that the demand for charitable efforts of benevolence in this line very far exceeds the supply; and surely such labours of love seem most appropriate to all the followers of that Saviour, whom prophecy specially announced, as one who should open the eyes of the blind, and of whom it was proved by his

gracious deeds upon earth, that this declaration included both the body and the soul of suffering and sinful man.

A chaplain attends at the Glasgow Asylum every morning and evening, for the purpose of conducting family-worship ; and on Saturday to give the pupils instruction in the principles of religion. My father-in-law, Dr. M—, addressed the inmates of the place before we took our leave of them ; and, as usual, his language of love and of truth, close and applicable to his hearers on the one hand, in reference to their peculiar condition, and at the same time so delicate and refined, that no feelings could be hurt thereby, made a deep impression on all present, and solemnized, while it enhanced, the vivid interest derived by our whole party from the scene, to which we had the privilege of being witnesses to-day.

I do not wish to bring to a conclusion these observations in the Glasgow Asylum for the Blind without mentioning that one unanimous testimony is and has been, year after year, rendered to the Honorary Treasurer, John Alstone, Esq. As to his unerring zeal in behalf of the inmates, and his comprehensive measures for their welfare, I just quote on this subject the remark of the Directors, in renewing their

annual vote of thanks for the present year. Volumes could not say more.

“To their Honorary Treasurer, John Alstone, Esq., of Rosemount, the Directors would renew their annual vote of thanks. They can only repeat what they have so often had occasion to express, that to his ceaseless exertions and unwearied assiduity, the prosperity of this institution, under the blessing of Providence, has been, in a great measure, owing; and they sincerely trust that he will be long spared to continue his praiseworthy exertions in this field of usefulness.”*

* Eighteenth Report, 20th June, 1845.

CHAPTER IX.

Lunatic Asylum—Arrangements—Dr. Hutcheson—Prevention of Insanity—Causes of Insanity—Occupation for the Insane—Means of Grace—Lunatics in Scotland—Parliamentary Statements—Country Visit—Glasgow Cathedral—Advance of Popery—Our Danger and Duty.

HAVING seen how much could be achieved for the blind, and how much of unquestionable and effectual alleviation they, under their grievous privation might receive, we went, as it were, in the strength of these impressions, to see other means of relief adapted to other woes; to see what means, skill, science, zeal, and benevolence could render available for curing and relieving the deranged.

The institution, to which I allude, is the Glasgow Royal Asylum for Lunatics, situated on a high and healthy site at a few miles distance from the town.

This Asylum has been built within the last

few years, and is a very grand edifice. In order to secure the utmost excellence of arrangement, the architect and the physician, at the desire of the committee, made a visit of inquiry both to the principal Asylums of England and to those in Paris and its neighbourhood. On their return, the plans which they prepared received the unanimous approbation of the Directors, and were as speedily as possible carried into effect. Such is the interesting history of that magnificent and commodious structure which meets the eye of the visitor, on his approach to the place. The accommodation will finally be provided for six hundred patients.

The institution is arranged for sufferers of all ranks, from those of large property, whose means enable them to pay proportionately for the accommodation to the insane poor, who are sent from the various parishes of the City of Glasgow, and various other localities, which, paying a certain annual sum in proportion to their population, thereby acquire the right of recommending their insane poor as inmates of the institution on the same terms as the City of Glasgow.

We were kindly received at the Asylum by the physician to the establishment, Dr. William Hutcheson, who has acquired, and so well deserves the highest reputation for his treatment

of insanity. I was very much pleased and interested with his conversation and demeanour, which seemed to me that of a man uniting in no ordinary degree the different qualities of gentleness, firmness, judgment, and benevolence. To give any general detail of the system, or of what we saw, would not be appropriate to these pages, such subjects being at the present time—and I am glad to be able to say it—so generally known, not only by those who have read the accounts of similar institutions, but also by those, who, from motives of laudable inquiry, and sympathy for suffering, have themselves been visitors of such scenes. I shall therefore confine myself to a few scattered remarks.

From the physician's Report for 1844, I extract the following most observable statement:—

“ Regarding the treatment, I may remark that, as before, the Asylum has been satisfactorily managed, without mechanical restraint being applied to a single patient during the year, and that under peculiar circumstances. When it is considered that upwards of two hundred and forty patients were removed from the old asylum to the new; that within three months we had an accession to our numbers of one hundred individuals, who had been indifferently managed, or left at large for years; that, while the ordinary business was going on, the institution had to be

furnished and arranged, the grounds cleared and brought into order, and new attendants procured and trained,—it will be admitted that the system of non-restraint has been put to the severest test, and that nothing but unremitting labour and vigilance could have ensured success. The activity, judgment, and zeal of my medical assistants, deserve the warmest acknowledgments ; and the patience, industry, and anxiety to promote the welfare of the establishment, displayed by the attendants, merit the highest commendation.”*

I had a little conversation with Dr. Hutcheson on the subject of means to be adopted in education towards the *prevention* of insanity, when it was known that there was an hereditary predisposition to it. This subject seemed to him one of the deepest interest ; and I find the following remark in one of his Reports. Speaking on *education*, as a means of prevention, he says :—“ I am not aware that the experiment has as yet been made to any extent ; but I trust that an institution having for its object the education of those, who, by hereditary predisposition or constitution are more than usually liable to the malady, may at no distant period be organised, and take a place among the philanthropic establishments of the country. In the mean time, I

* Pages 31, 32.

shall briefly enumerate the points most worthy of attention.”* Then follow several important remarks on *preventive measures*, as at present available.

Dr. H——, in the same Report, mentions, that, “next to hereditary predisposition, the most frequent causes of the disease in the cases admitted last year, were intemperance and want.” A very serious and important statement follows, which all who are interested in the welfare of their fellow-creatures, would do well to ponder over with attentive care:—

“For some years the number of patients, whose malady may be attributed to these causes, has been increasing. The increase has been among the lower classes. In 1841, the cases which could be traced to intemperance were thirty; in 1842, they were forty-six. In 1841, those arising from want amounted to five; in 1842, to seventeen. I have no doubt that the cause of the increase of both is manufacturing and commercial distress, giving rise to lowness of wages and want of employment. It may be said, that when wages are low, and occupation difficult to be obtained, men will have less money to spend, and, consequently, will drink less. A pretty extensive observation of the different grades of

* Physician's second Annual Report, pp. 11, 12.

the working classes for upwards of fifteen years, has convinced me that this opinion is erroneous ; for I have generally found, that want and intemperance go hand in hand. Whenever a man falls below a certain point in physical comfort, he becomes reckless, and sensual enjoyment forms his only pleasure. To this he will sacrifice every thing ; and habits of intemperance are frequently acquired in seasons of distress, which the individual in more favourable circumstances finds it impossible to lay aside.”

The same Report contains remarks at considerable length on the large number of patients who have become deranged from the intemperate use of spirituous liquors.

After certain tabular details, the Report concludes with some interesting statements on the absence of all mechanical constraint as applied to the patients ; on their occupation and amusements, among which is that of printing a periodical, towards which the contributions of the inmates, “ exclusive of those too absurd to be printed, were far more than sufficient to fill its pages ;” on the management and value of a circulating library, and on the state of religion, and the means of grace as exhibited in the institution. On this point I select one short passage :—

“As noted in our last Report, the patients assemble every morning and evening in chapel for divine worship. About three-fourths of the whole inmates attend regularly, though no compulsory measures are employed ; and, since none are present who do not come voluntarily, and all are excluded who would disturb others, or distract their attention, the service proceeds with all due solemnity, and the congregation is quiet and orderly. As, in consequence of other duties unconnected with the Asylum which devolve on the chaplain, we have been able to procure his services only three times a week, I have, with the aid of my assistants, endeavoured, though inadequately, I am convinced, to supply his place on the other occasions.” After a few farther remarks, including a notice on the habit of the patients to read and converse upon the passages heard explained in the chapel, as evidencing a permanency of the impressions made upon their minds, the Doctor thus concludes his observations on this most important part of his subject: — “I have no hesitation, therefore, in saying, that the services of a judicious and benevolent chaplain must prove highly beneficial in every Asylum.”

Dr. Hutcheson has a statement of a con-

firmatory nature as to the same topic in his Report of another year :—

“ Religious instruction has not only been continued, as heretofore, but, in consequence of Mr. B——, who has laboured for fourteen years in the institution, having become resident, it has been carried on to a greater extent. In addition to his other duties he has undertaken the teaching and training of some of our inmates, who had never been deemed capable of receiving instruction of any kind, and the success hitherto has been highly encouraging.”

We took leave of Dr. Hutcheson with earnest wishes for the welfare of the whole establishment, and with a firm conviction that much was in progress here towards the relief, restoration, and happiness of many fellow-creatures, visited by that grievous affliction, once so much increased by the ignorance, mismanagement, and cruelty of man, but now so much alleviated by skill, judgment, and true Christian love.

This institution, as realized in Scotland, is peculiarly interesting, from the fact, that hitherto provision for pauper lunatics throughout the country has been altogether inadequate to the wants of the population, under those most urgent of all demands—I mean cases of insanity among the poor. During the well-known debate, or, to

speak more accurately, at the delivery of the Lord Advocate's address, at once so luminous and so detailed on the Scotch Poor Law Bill in the House of Commons, April 2, 1845, I find several statements confirmatory of this fact. His Lordship, speaking of the laws relative to Lunatics in Scotland, said :—"that he did not think they were altogether satisfactory." He referred at some length to a paper of Dr. Hutcheson relative to some abuses in regard to pauper lunatics sent to the Island of Arran, and to the active steps taken to remedy those abuses by which in August, 1843, sixty-eight lunatics were removed from thence. His proposition as to pauper lunatics was :—"that they should be sent to an asylum of some kind, unless the Board of Supervision should dispense with such removal in any particular case."*

Mr. Ellice, Jun., said on the same occasion :—"With regard to Lunatics, every body knew that the present system of taking care of Lunatics in Scotland was a disgrace to any civilized country. But there were no Lunatic Asylums there for the purpose ; and to suppose that the Scotch were going to build any was an idea not to be entertained for a moment." I scarcely

* Speech of the Lord Advocate, &c., reprinted by Blackwood and Sons, p. 24.

understand what the Honourable Gentleman meant by this last remark. If Christian benevolence and sound policy require Asylums for the insane poor in Scotland, why should there be no expectation of having them introduced?

Mr. Hawes, who considered that "the Government deserved great thanks for the Bill," said: "With regard to *Lunatics*, in particular, he hoped the learned Lord would see the necessity for some provision. Although the learned Lord stated, that the Lunatics, who had been illegally confined on the Isle of Arran had been released, he was not satisfied that they were much better off now; and, unless they provided public Asylums, or compelled the parishes to furnish proper medical aid at an early period of the disease, they would not have taken all the means in their power to mitigate this greatest of all calamities."

All these statements prove the extreme importance of diligent and speedy attention to this subject in Scotland; and the Glasgow Asylum may become both a model and a stimulus to many other kindred establishments in the land.

On quitting the Asylum we proceeded to K——, where we were engaged to dine. Those of my readers who have the privilege of being acquainted with our host—and few are more known and valued both in public and social life—need not

be told that we enjoyed our evening in no slight degree. On our way to his house, Mr. C—— took us through the adjoining grounds of Sir A—— C——. They are very beautiful, having among other interesting features, steep hanging woods, and a fine river, which curves in a most picturesque loop just before the house. Sir A—— C—— was at home, and kindly showed us his beautiful conservatory, some fine pictures, ancient carved wood, and, in a word, his most pleasant home. He built the house himself a few years ago, and nothing can be more complete than this, my first specimen of a Scotch country-house.

The Cathedral at Glasgow is now under repair both within and without, after having been long abandoned to neglect and decay. The choir alone is applied to purposes of worship; and Presbyterian service is still held there. At one period, three Presbyterian congregations used to assemble in the edifice at the same time—one in the choir, another in the nave, and another in the crypt. I heard that the service in the crypt was given up forty-two years ago, and that in the nave fourteen years ago. The crypt is very handsome, and is well known to the readers of Sir Walter Scott, as the scene of a celebrated passage in *Rob Roy*

The person who conducted us through the edifice told us that one of the late visitors to this Cathedral, said, while viewing it, "We shall not have this as our own again under twenty years, I am afraid. We shall get on much faster in England than we shall in this country ; but we shall have this and all the other Cathedrals in about twenty years."

The speaker was a Romanist ; and though some may utterly deride all such anticipations, yet, perhaps, twenty years ago they would have utterly derided the thought of all which has taken place in our day at Oxford, and among so many Ministers and educated laymen in the English Church. Who would *then* have thought of such principles as those now asserted in universities, in pulpits, and in all forms of literature ? Who would then have dreamed of such practices as those *now* introduced in many a church of our land ? Who would then have thought it possible that long lists of clergymen and gentlemen, as converts to Popery, might now be drawn up from the columns of the daily press ? These events are all now embodied, as facts, in the religious history of our country. Who will venture, after this, to limit the events, in a similar direction, of the *next* twenty years ? May God preserve

us from supineness, fancied security, and all that judicial blindness, which is the sure preparative for ruin! May He enable the true Protestants of England, Ireland, and Scotland to “strive together for the Faith of the Gospel,” “to strengthen the things that remain,” and still to preserve inviolate that glorious principle—that indispensable watch-word of their Faith—no peace with Rome!

CHAPTER X.

Loch Lomond—Rob Roy—His real History—Rob Roy's Death—
Loch Katrine—Overladen boat—The Trosachs—Scott's description—Scotch Piper—Evening Prayers—Walk to Callender—
Stirling—French connection—Beautiful scene.

August 5. To the Trosachs. — Intending to make our excursion chiefly by water for the next two days, we sent our pony-carriage on to Stirling, and set off early this morning with Dr. M—— and my wife's sister for Loch Lomond and Loch Katrine. The day was bright and calm; indeed, in every way adapted for our object. After a drive of about twenty miles, during which we passed the rock and fortress of Dumbarton, rising aloft in abrupt, solitary, and eccentric grandeur from the flat plain beneath, as if for the very purpose of guarding the passage up the river Clyde, which flows at its base, we embarked on a stream at the southern end of Loch Lomond, and proceeded to Inversnaid, where we, and several

other passengers landed close to a small inn, standing picturesquely on the side of the steep, shelving bank.

During our whole course we were encircled by grand ranges of mountains, among which Ben Lomond rose in front, far above all its neighbouring competitors, and our vessel went on, winding hither and thither among a multitude of rocky and well-wooded islands. The clearness of the sky above was only rivalled by that of the calm water beneath; and, without making comparisons, depreciating other lakes, or exalting this at their expense, we all felt that Scotland might well be proud of such an expanse as this, and set in such a frame.

At Inversnaid, it is necessary for those proceeding to Loch Katrine, either to ride, walk, or drive, (the worst method of progress from the badness of the road) for a few miles distance, and here the guide-books threatened us with all sorts of extraordinary imposition and incivility; but we found neither one nor the other; and I suppose that the evil, after having arrived at a certain height, had been cured either by competition or by shame. Dr. M—and the two ladies were soon provided with ponies, and I accompanied them on foot through

the mountain-pass valleys, by which the two lakes are connected. We were now in the territory, which was the scene of the life and exploits—if they deserve such an exalted name—of that celebrated character, Rob Roy Macgregor. I shall here notice a few particulars of his real and actual history.

Perhaps some, who, in their imagination, have thrown him back into distant ages, will be surprised on hearing the fact, that it is only about one hundred years since the individual so named departed from this life. His real name was Macgregor, or Campbell. In fact, either appellation would be appropriate, as he was one of that extraordinary clan, the Macgregors, who were the subjects of such relentless and persevering animosity on the part, not only of their stronger neighbours, but of the State also, even to the prohibition, forbidding any one whatever to bear the dreaded name. If it had not been for this, Rob Roy's name would have appeared in public documents as a Macgregor; but as it is, he is called Campbell—I believe, from some temporary adhesion to the family of Argyll. Inversnaid, where we mounted our ponies, was the very place of which we hear as his first residence. While living there, he pursued the occupation of an extensive dealer

in cattle, which went under his protection to the Lowland fairs. He dealt and acted on his own account, and on the account of several large proprietors of the neighbourhood, for whom he seems to have been employed as a kind of agent. This went on for some time, and he was prosperous in his concerns for a certain period; but subsequently a turn in his affairs happened, and he became responsible for a large sum, both on his own account, and on the account of those who had entrusted him with the management of their business. Instead of a more peaceable endeavour to pay his debts, or of a surrender to his creditors, he all at once had recourse to a new system. He took up his abode at no great distance from his previous haunts, but far up among the rough and wild mountains of this neighbourhood, north of Inversnaid, on the east bank of Loch Lomond. Here he gathered about him a band of daring and lawless men, and for a while it certainly appears that he lived by making incursions on the property of his neighbours—chiefly, if not exclusively, cattle—and appropriating it to himself and his adherents. But before long his name grew so famous, that he was enabled to apply his power in a new and more regular way, so as to secure and realize for himself—

without so much danger, opposition to the laws of his country, and uncertainty—a systematic and regular income. This was accomplished in a most extraordinary way—by *black mail*. The fact was, that the neighbouring proprietors, who had suffered much from his predatory attacks, and from similar depredations among themselves, or from other quarters, agreed to pay Rob Roy, each for himself, a certain annual sum, as a consideration for his undertaking to seek and restore any cattle which they might lose, by any of the various incursions to which they were constantly subject. This, of course, preserved them from Rob Roy's attacks too; and in a great measure secured them from any other losses, — so thoroughly was he and his party acquainted with the neighbouring fastnesses, and with all the proceedings of their respective inhabitants.

Thus then lived Rob Roy for many years, occasionally engaged in other frays and expeditions, but usually occupied as a kind of protector of his neighbours' cattle, and as a recipient of considerable annual sums paid to him on this account. In fact, just as the best *guardiano* on the roads of Spain is frequently the transformed chieftain of banditti, so Rob Roy became

the *guardiano* for those who engaged him by their annual retaining fee.

He lived, pursuing this line of business, to an advanced period of life, and died safely in his bed. He seems, on the approach of dissolution, to have had some strong compunction as to various transactions of his life, and bitterly reproved his wife, who seems to have been a very Lady Macbeth in disposition, for some haughty and inappropriate words, as to his humiliation and contrition before God.

I have been desirous to sketch out a *real* life and character, as briefly as I can. For Rob Roy's real life, as a matter of history, is nationally and socially speaking, a subject well worthy of attention. The romance attached to his name may be, to many persons, a kind of stepping-stone towards inquiries and observations of no little historical importance, as illustrating the times in which he *flourished*—to use an old Harrovian expression, as to every individual mentioned in Lemprière's Dictionary, whether good, bad, or indifferent.

On finishing our short land-expedition, and arriving at the border of Loch Katrine, a row-boat, with a large number of passengers, was just setting off. The boatmen called out to know whether we would embark also. Little

or no time being given to us for consideration, we hurried down, and got in, amid doubts audibly expressed by some standers by, as to the sufficiency of room, or the safety of our proceeding.

When we entered the boat, we discovered that it was so full of tourists and luggage, that we could only find space for ourselves forward, in the bow of the boat, where the addition of our number to the passengers barely left room for the rowers to bend to their oars. However, we four sat down with the most limited accommodation, as new bales among the heap of luggage previously piled up. We soon found that the inconvenience was only a minor consideration to any one who knew anything of boating, as it immediately became evident that our load was far beyond that which ought to have been taken. The boatmen would not admit it, but the fact was clear. Besides the two rowers there was another man in the party, who seemed to have the direction. He moved, when necessary, with the greatest precaution, while no one else moved at all, or seemed inclined to do so, from the evident effect of the slightest stir of any passenger on the overburdened craft.

The weather was perfectly calm, when we commenced our ten mile course ; but presently, and just as we were in the middle of the lake, a breeze came down from the mountains, and caused much more swell than I should have thought possible, considering how slight it was. The boat could not rise to the wave in the smallest degree, and therefore went through it with a dead, straight, horizontal motion, which would have been most hazardous had the wind increased even a little more. Happily, however, it soon decreased instead of increasing, and we were no longer in any unpleasant predicament. Had there been only a fair cargo on board, there would not have been the slightest danger, even had the surface been ten times as much agitated ; but as the case was, with a long, thin, much over-loaded boat, our position for about half an hour was by no means satisfactory ; and, as one fond of the water, I could not help feeling how disagreeable the motion was, contrasted with the play of a boat, springing over or breasting the waves. From their whispering, and other signs, my opinion was that the rowers, who knew most about the matter, did not themselves like our position, when, at one particular point,

the breeze began to freshen, and the cloud darkly to sweep past in our direction from Ben Lomond's towering height.

On approaching the farther end of the lake, the sights around us were as peculiar as they were beautiful. The opposite banks approximate closely to each other, and form, by their wooded projections, irregularly shaped rocks, and fantastic natural features of various descriptions. This is the commencement of that singular locality known by the name of the "Trosachs"—a word, which I believe signifies "jutting eminences," and most characteristic of the place to which it is applied. We passed close by "Ellen's Isle," and other spots rendered famous by Sir Walter in the poetic literature of his country—or rather, I should say, of Europe.

Scott's description of this most singular scene is so exquisitely finished, that it seems quite a supererogatory work for any one else to attempt its delineation. It is too long for quotation, and besides it is so well known, and so easily attainable on desire, that its insertion here would be altogether needless. However, I cannot refuse presenting to the notice of my readers the commencement of his true and

most graphic account. In which portion of verse I may also mention that the chief peculiarities of the scene are contained—*τα διαφέροντα*, as Aristotle would say; not so much, I would observe, the chief beauties, as the chief peculiarities of the place—the things which make it differ from all other spots which I have ever seen, an opinion common to many travellers whom I have heard speaking of it.

The western waves of ebbing day,
 Roll'd o'er the glen their level way;
 Each purple peak, each flinty spire,
 Was bathed in floods of living fire.
 But not a setting beam could glow
 Within the dark ravine below,
 Where twined the path, in shadow hid,
 Round many a rocky pyramid,
 Shooting abruptly from the dell
 Its thunder-splinter'd pinnacle,
 Round many an insulated mass,
 The native bulwarks of the pass,
 Huge as the tower, which builders vain,
 Presumptuous piled on Shinar's plain.
 The rocky summits, split and rent,
 Form'd turret, dome, or battlement,
 Or seemed fantastically set
 With cupola, or minaret,
 Wild crests as Pagod ever deck'd,
 Or mosque of Eastern architect.

LADY OF THE LAKE. *Canto 1.*

The inn, where we intended to pass the night,
 and the only one in the neighbourhood, was

about a mile from our landing-place, and from all accounts which we had previously received, as well as from the fine weather and consequent crowd of tourists on the move to-day, we had reason to doubt of finding accommodation. However, though the apartments were very small, smaller than any I have ever seen at an inn, except on the top of the Righi, in Switzerland—still they were so numerous, that our fears were needless, and we passed a most pleasant evening in this truly delightful spot, wandering about, talking to the boatmen and porters, who congregate here in great numbers, and listening to the first Scotch piper whom we had hitherto met. I cannot yet enjoy the bag-pipe, though not difficult to please in instruments of music of any kind whatever.

On the subject of this Highland music, Skene, in his interesting work, “The Highlands of Scotland,” observes: “The use of the harp appears to have rapidly declined in the Highlands during the seventeenth century, in consequence of the civil wars which commenced at that period; and at length it was entirely superseded by the more martial instrument, the bag-pipe, the origin of which is altogether unknown, although, from the character of the music, there

is greater probability of supposing it an ancient instrument of the Highlanders than of foreign introduction.”

In the evening we gathered a little congregation to our prayers, and having listened to one, himself of a thankful, holy, loving spirit, and skilled in communicating to others the same feeling as his own, we retired to our rest, thankful to God, not only for the gifts of His grace, but also for the beauties of this earth, and specially thankful for the privilege of seeing a portion thereof, as we had been permitted to enjoy them this day.

August 6. To Stirling.—The morning was so fine, and the appearance of the country so tempting for pedestrianism, that I set off this morning an hour earlier than the rest of the party, in order to walk to Callender, eight miles on the way to Stirling. The narrow road, which I had to pursue, disclosed at each turn most pleasing views of lake, wood, coppice, and mountain, and at one particular point I was suddenly arrested by the picturesque beauty of a small ancient bridge, which no artist should, I think, pass without an attempt to transfer the scene to his sketch-book.

From consideration of the number of persons

employed in the fields, of the cottages near the inn at the Trosachs, of the boatmen and porters, who serve the crowd of summer travellers, and of the travellers themselves detained here on the Sabbath, it seems very needful that a small church should be built and maintained in this immediate neighbourhood. At present, I understand there is no public service within many miles, except once in a month.

During my walk, I joined a farmer of the neighbourhood, and had some interesting conversation on subjects of local and agricultural interest. Among other things, he told me that he held five hundred acres, including upland and lowland, for which he paid £200 a year. He paid his men two shillings a day in harvest time. To those labourers, who worked for him all the year round, he gave ten guineas a year in addition to their food, which consisted of mutton, broth, kail, bread, cheese, and porridge.

I joined my relatives at Callender, after a most agreeable walk, and we all went on together to Stirling. Its rock and castle first met our view, and truly magnificent were these objects. The agriculture of this neighbourhood is most skilfully managed, and among other farms of celebrity is that of Mr. Smith, at Deanstone, only a few miles off.

During the evening I walked through various parts of Stirling, a town of no slight interest to the stranger, both from the passages connecting it with Scotch history, as well as from its general features, and local position. The houses and streets have a very foreign appearance ; indeed they seemed to me more foreign than those of any town, which I have seen in Great Britain. Many of the houses had small round turrets, with the conical roof so well known in old French dwellings, and many of them have a close resemblance to the architecture of Ghent and Bruges. One large house, now used as a military hospital and called “ Argyll’s Lodgings” looked exactly as if it had stepped over from Rouen or Angers, or some other town on the banks of the Seine or the Loire. I also saw many of those irregular squares, called in French, “ places,” and here and there high walls with intervening thoroughfares, just like so many abroad.

These similarities are easily accounted for and explained by the close and long continued connexion of Scotch and French History. Among the courtiers and upper classes of society, the partiality to French fashions and tastes was at one time very strong in Scotland ; and as no doubt the fact of the French Kings being guarded

by a body drawn and filled up, as vacancies occurred, from Scotland, with many other kindred circumstances, would have much weight on the matter. The attachment of Mary Queen of Scots to French habits is a matter of history.

It is curious to hear French words Scotticized, as so often occurs. For instance, “*assiette*,” a plate, forms a word of the same meaning, and is contained in Meg Dod’s celebrated Book of Cookery, in the receipt for a certain dish entitled “*Petticoat-tails!*” This is nothing less or more than the “*petits gateaux*” (for *gateaux*, the more usual word) of the French cook and confectioner. Another word of French origin, is that of “*an haverel*,” which signifies a fool or simpleton. This is derived from the word “*Avril*,” French for April, an “April fool.”

The view from Stirling Castle is most varied and extensive—framed on the right by a lofty ridge of mountains bending round to the left. A nearer line of heathy and well-wooded heights, stretching away from the left, blends most harmoniously with that line which I have previously described as converging from the right. The smooth turf of the race-ground, the lowlands covered with golden crops and sprinkled with portions of wood, and dotted with the

very neatest farmsteads—the remains of the old royal garden with its circular and now grass-grown terraces, at the foot of the rock, and immediately below your feet, steep, craggy, leaf covered precipices—such is the scene spread before you as on a map, and many other fair objects might be added to the list without exaggeration or untruth.

CHAPTER XI.

Linlithgow—Linlithgow Palace—Arrival in Edinburgh—Presbyterian Service—Autumn Migration—Letters of Introduction—A Saturday Visit—Notice for Travellers—Impression of Edinburgh.

August 7. To Edinburgh. — We passed to-day many handsome country-houses and much highly cultivated ground; but with the exception of Linlithgow Palace, which we carefully examined, there was nothing which called my note-book into use. That abode of royalty in former times; that “excelling” abode, to use the words of the song in its praise, is, for a ruin, by no means in bad order for restoration, if desired. With the trifling addition of roofs, floors, and such supplementary parts of the structure, the apartments might with ease be again rendered habitable. James the First built one side of this palace after he became King of England; and accordingly over one window the date of 1619 is inscribed. On another side,

he caused the crown and the thistle to be carved in stone-work over the windows of the room, where his mother, Mary, Queen of Scots, was born.

Here again, as I have remarked in the local features of Stirling, tall narrow towers remind the spectator of France, and of the long-continued and close connexion of Scotland with that country. One apartment was employed for the double purpose of a Parliament Hall and a Banqueting Hall. It has a gallery above, and is still a very handsome room. There is a curious little secret and dungeon-looking place below one of the chief bed-rooms, which makes a place of retreat for any one sleeping there, and suddenly aroused in the night by assailants. Our guide told us that James III. hid himself there three weeks at one time, and a fortnight at another. Whether this is true or not, the existence of such a chamber shows the character of the times.

There is a beautiful view from the turrets : and two-thirds of this building are encircled by a pretty lake, approaching to the foot of the walls. Beyond this is a pleasant and extensive meadow, and the whole country around is now glowing with its rich yellow harvests.

Near Linlithgow is a very lofty and most

graceful viaduct for the transit of the railway-carriages.

Just as the sun was setting, we came in sight of Edinburgh ; and, as we approached, the lofty, extensive, and precipitous rock, on which the Castle is built, and that fine crowning edifice rose high in the air before us, and gleamed on our eyes in the rich mellow light of a delightful summer's evening. . Congratulating ourselves on our first and very favourable impression of this beautiful city, and anticipating much interest and admiration in examining its local features, architecture, and surrounding scenery, we entered Scotland's capital without passing any suburbs whatsoever, and driving up to George Street, were soon most comfortably lodged in one of its ample and well-built abodes.

I was present this day, for the first time, at the service of the established Church of Scotland. Dr. M——, who is considered one of the most able of the ministers remaining in the establishment, officiated. On another occasion, during my stay at Edinburgh, I attended the Free Church service, and heard Dr. G——, of great celebrity as a preacher. I admired much his powerful argument, his simplicity of delivery, and altogether the impressive character of his address. Every time that I

may have attended at any service, except that to which I am accustomed—I mean, of course, the service of our English Church—I may say without hesitation, as faithful and true in my admiration of her Liturgy and public ritual, that I have been thankful for belonging to our own branch of Christ's Church, for this as well as many other causes—I mean, the excellency of her worship as adapted to the great congregation on the Lord's day. The very small proportion of Scripture read in the Scotch Church, is, to my mind, a very great deficiency and loss; and, while, with our form of prayer, *we are secure* of sound and effective doctrine through a large portion of the services—in fact, until the sermon commences—according to the Presbyterian form of worship, too much depends on the individual who ministers, from the beginning to the end.

Edinburgh, August 7 to August 26.—We remained at Edinburgh for nearly three weeks; and though during our sojourn we experienced two circumstances of a character disadvantageous to our full enjoyment of the place, yet, notwithstanding this, we felt that the fair capital of Scotland commanded at first, and sustained afterwards an interest of its own, independent of all accidental circumstances, in which, as strangers, we were placed.

Our first disadvantage was, that we had very cold, wet, dark, stormy, and unseasonable weather during the main time of our stay. Our second, that very few, indeed, among the many persons to whom we brought letters of introduction, or with whom we had other means of forming immediate and agreeable acquaintance, were in Edinburgh itself, or in the neighbourhood at the time. Many towns, including our own metropolis, are, in some measure, thinned of their wealthier inhabitants during the months of summer and autumn, when a certain portion of the metropolitan residents, whose means allow them so to do, go for health or recreation to the country, visit some sea-bathing place, or pass a few weeks abroad. But I never was in any city where this system appears to be carried to such an extent as it is at Edinburgh. The common phraseology which met my ears continually was : —“ Oh ! *nobody* is in town now.” And certainly that part of Edinburgh inhabited by many of the wealthier classes, literally seemed almost depopulated. Neither shall I affront its citizens, but rather pay a compliment to their taste for summer recreation in the country, when I mention the truth, that in some of the finest streets the grass was plentifully visible among the stones, and that I have more than once

walked round a large square near our lodging, without meeting one single individual, and that, too, in fine weather, and in mid-day.

I am not one of those travellers who speak at all in a slighting or indifferent manner with regard to letters of introduction, but, on the contrary, as a general rule value them highly, and have personally found, in all countries, amply sufficient reason so to do. Through the kindness of friends in England we had brought with us a very fair supply for Edinburgh and its neighbourhood; but, on making a circuit of calls on my arrival, with the intention of leaving them with those to whom they were addressed, I found very few available. The kind attention, and the truly cordial reception which I speedily received in every instance where the recipients of these letters did happen to be at Edinburgh or in its neighbourhood, only proved how much the stranger, who has the proper disposition to value society of that very superior and intelligent description here met with, is entitled to regret this complete summer migration from the town. At one of the first houses to which we were invited, and where we passed a day in the most agreeable manner, our kind hostess said that she had endeavoured to arrange for our meeting under her roof those two truly distinguished

men, Dr. Chalmers, and Dr. Keith; but they were both far away. Neither Dr. Guthrie nor Dr. Candlish were to be *heard* for the same cause, though there was but one report of the great power and effect of their eloquence in the pulpit. The ministers of all denominations, so far as their duties will admit, partake of and enjoy these rural tastes; and of the temporary lack of Episcopal clergy in the town, I had rather an amusing exemplification in the extreme delight and air of official triumph with which a clerk of one of the Episcopal chapels secured, on a certain Saturday, the services of that humble individual who writes these pages.

I was sitting in my room when the door was opened, and a stranger was announced. A little short man, clad in black, entered, and requested me to take the service of an Episcopal chapel which he mentioned. After a few preliminary questions, I most readily assented, and immediately my visitor's face brightened up with an expression, denoting the accomplishment of some most important objects, on the successful attainment of which there had evidently been no slight misgivings. —“ Well, I *am* glad,” said he, “ I was on my legs all yesterday, and we hardly knew, Sir, where to turn for assistance. It's a good thing *you* are here, Sir.” Again, during

one of the weeks which we spent at Edinburgh, the Inverness meeting (of which I shall have to speak somewhat copiously by and by) took northward a large number of ministers and able laymen—advocates of the Free Church principles into the Highlands. I need not add that the landowners and sportsmen were all gathered to their country homes, or shooting quarters, in pursuit of the grouse.

I have mentioned these circumstances, because, as being of annual occurrence, (except so far as relates to the Inverness meeting) travellers to Scotland ought to be aware of them, so that, according to their object, whether that of seeing people or scenery, they may time and order their arrangements. To unite a visit to Scotland at the appropriate period for climbing its mountains and skimming its lakes, and also for enjoying the superior and distinguished society of Edinburgh, is not, so far as I see, practicable, except by a sojourn of some duration, so as to include either a part of the autumn and winter, or a part of the spring and summer. And to those who have not so much time at command, and yet wish to realize the two objects above-mentioned—both so desirable to all who can attain them—I would recommend, in these days of speedy locomotion, two distinct visits.

I write these observations, fully convinced that they may prove of considerable value to some of my readers.

However, as I mentioned before, notwithstanding bad weather, and the absence of so many whom we should have been truly pleased to meet, we greatly enjoyed our sojourn in Edinburgh; and I shall mention in the next chapter a few of those objects and scenes which afforded me the principal interest in this noble city.

CHAPTER XII.

Blackwood's Magazine—Professor Wilson—Parliament House—
The Cowgate—The Cemetery—Vaults—Botanical Gardens—
Interesting Walk—Friendly reception.

PERHAPS on no occasion had I more advantages for seeing the town, as a stranger, in a favourable manner, than during a course or circuit of considerable extent, under the friendly and most courteous guidance of the Solicitor-General, who gave up to me several hours of his valuable time, and showed me in one day the various scenes which I am about to describe.

Our first call was at the establishment of the Messrs. Blackwood, as I was desirous of seeing those gentlemen, as well as the *officina* of a periodical so distinguished for the talent exhibited in its pages, and so long known in the political and literary world as that magazine which bears their name. I was also in hopes of seeing Professor Wilson, as a man of true genius and deep feeling, not to speak of the remarkable originality of his character. Like so many others,

the professor was absent from Edinburgh, so that I could only see his portraits, of which there are two in the reading-room attached to the premises of Messrs. Blackwood—a reading-room to which a friendly and general invitation was at once given to me on my introduction. One of these portraits represents Professor Wilson in a shooting-jacket, somewhat with the aspect of a bold and heroic mountaineer; and, as was well expressed to me by Sir J. M'N——, in whose presence I was looking at it, sets forth, in a very skilful and graphic manner one aspect of a character, in which there are, undoubtedly, some *idiosyncracies*. That his character has other aspects, such as softness and tenderness of the most delicate nature, no one who has read his writings—for instance, the “Trials of Margaret Lyndsay,” and “The Foresters”—will, for a moment, either doubt or forget.

My call here proved very agreeable to me, as I thus became acquainted with the two gentlemen to whom this celebrated literary establishment, as well as the publication above-named, belong. From them I received every mark of kindness and attention, inclusive of much valuable information as to a tour in Perth, which I was shortly

to commence, and the loan of one of that extended and valuable series of topographical volumes, in which the whole of Scotland has, through their means, been most judiciously and accurately delineated.

When this visit was concluded we crossed the valley, which separates the new from the old town, and went through the Parliament House, which, of course, accompanied as I was, I saw to the best advantage. This edifice answers in many respects to Westminster Hall as to its use, since it is here that all the chief courts of Scotland are held. The large hall is very handsome and capacious. It has a carved massive hanging roof of oak, partially gilt ; and contains a few statues of a very superior order and interest. Within the precincts of the Parliament House are two admirable libraries : one called the Advocate's Library, the other the Signet Library. The former is one of the five collections in Great Britain, which by law have a right to a copy of every work published in the country. There is here every facility and comfort for reading and writing, and I saw modern reviews and publications in abundance scattered on the tables.

Close to the site of the present Parliament

House once stood the Old Tolbooth, from whence Porteous was dragged forth by the infuriated mob, and carried down to the Grass-market for execution. No vestige of this prison now remains. The other Tolbooth prison, still existing, is a very old and strange building too. It is in the Canongate, which, strictly speaking, is a suburb of Edinburgh, and was once divided by a gate from the upper portion of the town.

After seeing the Parliament House we proceeded by a steep and winding descent to examine various parts of the ancient town, including the large old square called the Grass-market, with its strange and fantastic houses, as varied in their size and shape as in the different gradations of rank, for whom they seem to have been originally designed. The Black Bull Inn was pointed out to me, once the chief hostelry for travellers of the upper class to be found in the whole town, and often spoken of in old memoirs, diaries, &c. We then went up the whole line of the Cowgate, a long narrow street of considerable length, so deeply and precipitously sunk beneath the adjoining part of the town, that the roofs of its houses are not so high as the very foundations of the streets immediately above. During our course we passed under lofty arches supporting bridges

far above our heads, but only on a level with the thoroughfares above, and being in fact, crowded thoroughfares themselves.

These features correspond with many singular arrangements of the same kind exemplified in many parts of Edinburgh. As the French would say, it is, indeed, *très accidenté*, a word which I have often thought of as more accurately describing the locality and streets of Edinburgh than any English epithet, which I can recall to mind.

The population of the Cowgate is very dense, and for the most part, poor. It includes a large proportion of Irish.

We then crossed the town, and directed our steps to the cemetery, a receptacle for the dead, established within the last few years. This cemetery is extensive, and has a pleasant appearance, from its general arrangement, its turf, shrubs, and flowers. From it there is a most beautiful view of Edinburgh. The great drawback to its fitness and propriety, as a calm and solemn resting-place for the bodies of the dead, is nothing less than the passage of a railway right across it. I heard that this could not be avoided, but it is nevertheless to be regretted. Part of the ground has been consecrated, for the special use of the members of the Episcopal

Church ; and on this ground a little chapel, of very pure and graceful architecture, has lately been erected for performing that part of the burial service which is carried on within our churches. It is now just approaching to completion. It appeared to me that if the light had been admitted in less abundance, and if a more dark and sober colouring had been introduced in the painted glass, the whole effect inside would have been far superior than can be expected under the present arrangement. Underneath this chapel there is a chamber of vaults, which seems very well laid out, a separate place being assigned to each coffin. I understood that the stone, which, being cut into slabs, forms the niches, in which the coffins lie, is of such durable description that time has upon it no visible effect. The coffins here used are of lead ; and when the coffin is placed in its appointed niche, and the stone leaf, or door, in front, is put in, all is hermetically sealed up, and every prospect of the body's preservation, for an indefinite period, is thus apparently secured. I understood that the price for thus depositing a coffin was about seven pounds ; and that all the affairs of the cemetery are very well conducted ; and that while all things are done " decently and in order," there is no depart-

ment connected with its arrangements that extravagance of funereal charges, which not long ago gave rise to an article in the Quarterly, among many other animadversions on the subject.

Our circuit ended with a survey of the Botanical Gardens, which are at no great distance from the cemetery. Mr. M'Nab, the experienced and accomplished Curator, accompanied us through the long range of conservatories, in which we saw many very curious plants. The collection of epiphytes is fine, though I saw none approaching the magnificent specimen, belonging to my friend, J— J— B—, Esq. of Reading, which gained the chief prize, and caused such a sensation when exhibited at the great meeting of the Horticultural Society last spring. An Indian oak, which is a very small tree, as to height and general dimensions, but with enormous leaves, was pointed out to us, and we heard that, small as the tree itself is, there was no larger specimen in Europe. But it appeared to me that the collection of heaths was by far the most attractive and interesting object which the whole place contained. They were, in many instances, quite like large shrubs; and some of the flowers were not only profuse as to abundance, but of exquisite form and colour.

I thought that nothing could be more appropriate to a fine Scottish garden than this magnificent assemblage of heaths.

We then went into a very large and lofty glass house chiefly occupied by palms. Here there are some fine specimens of that extraordinary exotic, the screw-pine (*Pandanus Odoratissimus*) a plant, for whose growth the Almighty Creator has made a peculiar provision, in causing it, as its height and weight may require, to put forth, and to lower from the trunk into the ground, at distances varying from one to three feet, strong, straight shoots, as buttresses in a building, so as to give support and strength to the stalks above. I counted between twenty and thirty of these singular shoots, half in air and half in earth. Never having seen the plant before, I was extremely interested with the peculiarity of this natural provision and development for its growth.

Here our walk ended, and I have seldom seen more in a day, and certainly was never more indebted to a guide and companion than on this occasion. My questions regarding Edinburgh were as freely put as they were obligingly and fully answered. For my acquaintance with the Solicitor-General, as well as

with his brother, at whose house, near Edinburgh we had dined the evening before, I was indebted to my friend the Honourable and Reverend G— Y—, who, for some years fulfilled ministerial duties in Edinburgh, and was evidently remembered with much affection by all who mentioned him here.

CHAPTER XIII.

Beauty of Edinburgh—Our first View—Farther impressions—
Arthur's Seat—Splendid view—Praise to God.

I AM much disposed to agree in the statements made to me on various occasions, both in England and abroad, as to there being no city which, from its general magnificence, beauty, and romantic variety of scenes and structures, has more claim on the admiration of a traveller, than that where I now write, and which I have lately been traversing from end to end, and viewing from various points and distances, with keen and unfailing interest. Accordingly, having usually pursued the habit of putting my impressions of such scenes on paper, I have not failed here to follow my usual plan, and I have done so with no slight pleasure and alacrity, constantly encouraged and led on by each remarkable object, feature, and pecu-

liarity of edifice or site, which here meets the eye in quick and unfailing succession.

Our first view of Edinburgh, though snatched in the midst of very unsettled weather, was most attractive, as we entered the town at sunset; when for about half an hour the golden rays were lighting up each near or distant crag; and the castle, and some monument meeting us at each turn, and the ancient abodes of men, unexampled for their height in any known city, and the wide streets and symmetrical squares, soon expanded themselves before us on our way. I subsequently was confirmed in my first and vivid appreciation of this town, by frequent and repeated observation both from within and from without, referring as well to its general mien, when viewed from a distance, as to the special details on which its distinctive character depends, when viewed in their immediate proximity. I have heard many persons say, that no description of the pen can give any idea of the scene which Edinburgh presents. Therefore, it perhaps is presumption in me to make any attempt of the kind. But I remember that the observation, charitably taken, may possibly be of a favourable application to my intended remarks, since this allowed difficulty will be an

excuse, if not for total failure, at least for very partial success.

Although, as to individuals, I heartily concur in the old and wise saying, that "comparisons are odious," yet as to localities, I consider them certainly desirable, if they can be aptly made; as, while they help the imagination, nobody is personally offended by them, or displeased by this sort of comparison, otherwise than just so far as arises from a declared preference, or ascription of superiority, as to one scene over another, which is in their mind undeserved, or, at all events, contrary to their own national feelings, local attachments, and pre-conceived impressions. Thinking therefore that, in the description of scenery, whether rural or civic, if it is possible to offer any resemblance or comparison drawn from elsewhere, it should be done, and I would so act if I could. But, premising that the beauty and magnificent features of Edinburgh are admitted and recognized, I recur in my own mind to those splendid cities, in various parts of Europe, which I have visited at various periods of my life, and I make the endeavour to assimilate the city, in which I now am, to any one among them. But I make it in vain, though referring in my mind to the cities of Italy and France, all of which,

having a claim to peculiar grandeur and beauty, I have seen, including Naples, Genoa, and Bordeaux ; nor forgetting Palermo or Dublin, nor some on English ground, such for instance as Oxford, Plymouth, Lancaster, Durham, and Bath. But in none of these, whether at home or abroad, can I find any adequate materials of illustration or comparison with Scotland's romantic capital. I must therefore *make* a similitude, and observe that it looks to me like some small and picturesque continental town—partly ancient and partly new—greatly magnified, greatly extended, and filling the gaze on all sides, instead of merely offering a few striking features on a small and contracted scale. But having said that I have never seen any existing town to which I could liken Edinburgh, I will also add that I have never seen any town, which, according to my conception of the subject, surpasses it in local interest—in the combination of natural beauty, with which its precincts are girt on all sides, and in the striking and attractive features which those precincts contain.

Let me propose a walk to Arthur's Seat, such as I have just enjoyed. You quit the town skirting the walls of Holyrood Palace ; and, without passing through any suburb whatsoever, you find yourself at once in the midst of a fresh

and fair meadow. You might turn to the right, and wind along the path up Salisbury Crags, but there on one side your prospect would be limited by the rocky barrier behind you ; and, therefore, instead of taking that line, you advance onward with the more ambitious aim of reaching Arthur's Seat, which stands so loftily, as to offer no contemptible challenge, even to one experienced in mountain walks. At a few hundred yards' distance from Holyrood, a steep, broken height faces you in front ; but, as you advance, you discover a valley (previously hid by a shoulder of the hill) curving and sweeping down towards you from the right ; and along this valley you direct your steps upward. But how picturesque and beautiful is this very foreground ! Let us pause, and regard it for a moment ! If you can forget the city and its busy scenes, the "*fumum et opes strepitumque Edinæ*," from whose streets you have emerged only a few minutes ago, you may here, on this very spot, imagine yourself, with little stretch of fancy, as entering the outer border of some Alpine solitude. Rocks close in beside you. Precipitous heights stand aloft before you. Little gushing rills of clear water spring forth and trickle around you among the turf, and that turf is close, soft, and mountain-like.

As you advance, the labour of ascending is just enough to call the bodily powers into action, but not enough to fatigue the limbs of an average man, even *οἱσι νῦν βροτοί εσμεν*. And now we are on Arthur's Seat—a lofty point of rock crowning the hill, and admitting on every side a wide and panoramic scene of land, sea, and city! Wide is the prospect; and, as in general, we first turn to water, as the gem, the attraction, and the ornament of any landscape, however beautiful throughout, so here, in all probability, you first gaze on the wide inlet of the sea, called the Firth of Forth, with its expanse of waves, rolling towards you under a fresh northern breeze, and sparkling in the sun, and yet minute by minute assuming a different hue under the swiftly-coursing clouds of this glorious day. You mark its far-stretching reach as it penetrates the country towards the direction of Stirling, while the Bass rock at its mouth, with Inchkeith and Cramond Island, as nearer spots and features on its surface, will, probably, arrest your eye. Beyond these waters lie woods and cultivated slopes; and then succeed ridges of mountain—the only fit girdle, boundary, or frame of Scottish landscape like this.

Look now on that populous and noble city, here as clinging to some lofty slope or hill,

there sinking deep into some valley, and willingly yielding itself to the varied* form of the ground which it covers and adorns so well. See Calton Hill, with its classical constructions and monuments, crowning an eminence rising from the very town, but as bold in form, and faced with rock no less rugged and rude, than if it stood in the midst of some far distant solitude among the wild mountains, and far apart from all the dwellings of man! The New and Old town stretch away on two distinct and extended ridges, between which lies a deep valley covered with verdure and foliage; while churches and fine public edifices, and graceful monuments stand before you, scattered numerously through the city, and just in those localities best chosen for beauty and effect. But neither here nor any where else will the superb Castle pass unnoticed, standing in its towering and solitary grandeur, with the natural foundation of prominent basaltic rock so mingled with the stone-work of man's hand, that at a distance scarcely can the separation be distinguished. Strange clusters of houses, with ten or twelve stories in each,

* The French phrase *accidenté*, now very much in use, as referring to natural scenes, appears to me peculiarly expressive when applied to Edinburgh and its immediate vicinity. I do not think it can be translated into an English word, but it is just the *opposition* to the idea of "tame," "regular," "formal."

rise here and there in all the shapeless architectural confusion prevalent in ancient days ; while, as in the most determined contrast to such structures, you see on the farther side of the city wide streets and symmetrical squares, and all the beautiful arrangements which modern improvement brings.

You now take in an extensive range with the eye, and, turning a little to the left you see a wide corn-covered valley, lying between the verdant and wooded slopes on the one side, (where many a fair villa peeps forth), and the bold range of the Pentland Hills on the other ; and then—but what new features have I now left to dwell on or describe ? We have already gazed on mountain and bay, and island, and a mighty city, and a feudal structure, and meadows, and corn-fields, and the fair residences of man. What more can I present ? Turn a little farther round, and pass rapidly over that far-spreading expanse of land, now yellow with harvest, and well sprinkled with wood, and say what meets your eye, as the circle of its gaze is nigh concluded at the point where it first commenced ? Nothing less than the sea ! The broad, boundless ocean is there. And now, after one more survey of the whole let us descend, giving glory to Him, “ which made Heaven and Earth, the Sea,

and all that therein is," "who giveth the earth to the children of men," that they may build for themselves "cities of habitation," and praise Him for His rich bounty in providence, while they praise Him in still louder tone for His gifts in redemption and grace! Shall we behold such a spectacle as I have seen to-day, standing on one of God's own "everlasting hills," and hesitate in our response to the call of the Psalmist: — "Oh! that men would therefore praise the Lord for His goodness, and declare the wonders that He doeth for the children of men!"—(Ps. 107—3.)

CHAPTER XIV.

Athens and Edinburgh—Holyrood—Rizzio—John Knox—High Street—Carlyle, on Hero Worship—Houses of Edinburgh—Scotland's Worthies—The Castle—Old and New Town.

I WALKED one morning with a relative who is well acquainted with Athens and its vicinity, round Calton Hill ; his remarks at each step of our progress, as to the evident similitude between that town and Edinburgh, were to me a very strong and confirmatory proof as to the truth of this well-known comparison. He did not merely make a general admission or statement of the likeness between the two cities and their immediate neighbourhood ; but, when we had once touched on the subject, he at every step illustrated the fact, saying :—" There is Hymettus—there is the Piræus," and so on ; just as if there had been an absolute identity between what he saw at the moment, and what he remembered to have seen in Greece. I might

have met with the comparison stated and re-stated in Guide-books, or heard it repeated as a matter of local fame, without the least approach to that conviction of its truth and reality, which a few quick observations, proceeding from one in the manner I have just described, produced on my mind with the most vivid effect. His words and his manner was exactly that of one who was in Athens itself, and with Attic environs around.

Holyrood Palace may, from its historical associations, claim perhaps the first place on the list of especial objects, which as strangers we visited during our sojourn here. Except, however, for historical recollections, there would be but little to awaken interest or attraction at the place. The structure is massive, but has no very ancient appearance, and is neither strong enough to give one the idea of a place of defence, nor open enough to give the idea of a pleasant and attractive habitable dwelling. The state rooms are gloomy, with but little furniture, and still less ornamental decoration. The pictures, of which there are several in one of these apartments, are of the most ordinary description; and the representation of George IV. as a kilted Highlander in full costume, is calculated to awaken a most disloyal risibility. I literally

can recal nothing worthy of notice within the edifice, until we entered the small antique suite of rooms which were occupied by Mary, Queen of Scots, when Rizzio was murdered, and in which the very deed was done.

Four rooms are shown as connected with that dark transaction :—the Queen's bed-room, two small closets in two adjoining turrets, and a kind of ante-room, where Rizzio was stabbed to death. This was once a part of the bed-chamber, but separated from it at Mary's commands, by a partition put up after the murder, and remaining still. In these apartments there are several articles of furniture which were in use during the days of Mary, and some specimens of her work in embroidery and other arts of drawing-room craft, fashionable in her day.

In one of the small closets Mary was at supper with some ladies of her Court and Rizzio, when the conspirators came through her bed-room, entered the closet, and dragged their victim from her presence. It is to us a singular characteristic of the lack of refinement in those days, as compared with our own, to observe that the only entrance into this room—the only means by which the attendants could have brought any thing into the presence of the Queen—was through the very bed-room which

she herself occupied. In this small closet is a picture of Rizzio, looking very young and boyish, and by no means of Italian mien, as to the caste or expression of his countenance. There is also a small picture of the Virgin painted on alabaster, and which has evidently been broken into fragments, but is now re-united. Our guide told us that John Knox had been the iconoclast : with what truth for her assertion I am unable to say. He certainly was “ mighty to pull down the strongholds of superstition, and every high thing which exalted itself ” against the knowledge of the one only mediator between God and man ; neither, had circumstances made the deed requisite, would he have hesitated for one moment in the performance of this or any similar act, where the path of duty seemed clear ; but his enemies and libellers have attributed to him many personal acts, in regard to his Sovereign, which are of the most apocryphal character. This may or may not be one of the number.

There are still stains on the boards at the spot where Rizzio’s blood was shed under the daggers of the band of his assailants. Neither is it any strange thing that they should be the marks of his blood, for it is well known that Mary

forbade their removal at the time of the deed ; and we may well suppose that a kind of superstitious unwillingness to have them effaced has subsequently prevailed. Neither should I imagine that, when once engrained in the wood, they could be removed, except by the use of the plane. The magnificent ideas of the Greeks,* relative to the permanency of the murderous stain, recurred to my mind, while I was looking this dark memorial of guilt, and hearing the usual comment made by the guardian of the place to each successive visitor.

Between Holyrood Palace and the Castle extends a long line of street—famous in old times—most curious to the eye still, and full of remembrances, on which the observing traveller must love to dwell. In this street, once the abode of the wealthiest nobles of Scotland, Queensberry House and other residences of fine ancient architecture, not only by their names, but also by their grandeur and size, still speak of those who formerly tenanted their halls. Opposite to them stands a quaint, and apparently most aged edifice, called the Tolbooth. It is not, however, the Tolbooth renowned in history ; for that was

* As to the Ocean itself being inadequate to wash them out, and other similar conceptions expressed by their poets.

situated at the other end of the street, and of it not one stone now remains.

Advancing a little farther we reach a corner house jutting into the street, at a point where the thoroughfare suddenly becomes of far wider dimensions than below. At this corner house—now, so far as I could ascertain, shared by a perfumer and a spirit-seller—once dwelt John Knox—the man, if ever there was such, raised up and fitted for the work which God had given him to do in his “troublous times.”—“Honour to him,” says one,* able to grasp the position, appreciate the spirit, and prize the deeds of that great man :—“honour to him ! His works have not died. The letter of his work dies, as of all men’s, but the spirit of it never.” Of Knox, maligned as he was, and is, the same noble-minded writer speaks again, and testifies, that he was an “honest-hearted, brotherly man—brother to the high, brother also to the low ; sincere in his sympathy with both.” High characteristics ! Like Paul of old, he continued in his lot and day, “witnessing both to small and great” in behalf of the truth of the Gospel : “reasoning of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come, so that crowned heads and courtiers trembled.” He went on “in nothing

* Carlyle, on Hero Worship.

terrified by his adversaries"—and laying so well the foundation of true, vital, scriptural religion in the land of his labours, that still the edifice, once built thereon, stands firmly and gloriously, defying each secret mine, no less than each violent and fierce assault of the foe.

The little painted wooden figure representing Knox in his preaching dress, is somewhat ludicrous in its character; but the quaint, grotesque, and ancient form of the house to which it is affixed, and all the scene around, carries the mind back into former ages, and makes the figure appear less strange and unsuitable, than it would have been in almost any other scene. One just thinks of some family representation of the preacher brought out of the room within, and shown to the public without, for the friendly and familiar gaze of some admiring multitude.

Proceeding up the street we pass the site of the old Tolbooth, and some fine churches, public offices, &c., of newer construction, are let into this ancient part of the town. But the great curiosity of the walk consists in the tall, aged dwellings, which rise on each side. Their fronts usually end in a kind of gable top above. In some instances projections extend far over the street. Outside stone staircases are met on the

way, descending in the most daring manner half way across the pavement, and long dark "wynds," or closes, branch out at each side, especially towards the right. All this region is quite what may be called the *classic* ground of Edinburgh. In it and its neighbourhood once dwelt nobles, and literary men, and official characters, of whom the world has heard so much—some of that goodly number of Scotland's sons, of whom history is full, and whose *ἔπεα πτερόεντα* have flown over the inhabited earth. Towards the farther end of the street, and as you draw nigh to the castle, some of the houses are quite untenanted, and most dilapidated. They look as if they only held together by the *attraction of cohesion*, and not by any more trustworthy combination of materials. Of these houses I saw some exquisite representations, in sketches made by Dr. G——. The book which contained them had also some beautiful coloured views taken in the County of Sutherlandshire, where there must be scenes not less grand than rare, and peculiar in their character, if I may judge from these delineations kindly shown to us during a visit to Lord M——'s in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. I allude especially to some coloured sketches representing deep indentures of the sea, flowing in between straight

and precipitous walls of rock, and other kindred features of that bold and sea-beaten coast.

But, to return to our walk. Advancing straight onward in the direction of the Castle, you reach the termination of its approach or avenue—substituting houses for trees—and you cross an open space, from which you have on each side, and deeply set below you, a view of the city of both the Old and New Town, indeed of Edinburgh at large ; and it was from hence that I first saw that imposing and symmetrical building — Heriot's Hospital — occupying its broad open site, far apart from any edifices able to rival it in the smallest degree, whether as to size or as to magnificence. The Castle has a fine and feudal mien, both within and without ; and the numerous soldiers, apparelled in the full costume of the Highlands—which, by the by, is a most splendid dress—and standing on guard, or moving about singly, or in rank, will, probably, amuse and interest the traveller who sees them, if not for the first time, at least for the first time in their own clime and territory.

Such is my humble attempt to seize and transfer to these pages a few of the most striking and attractive features of this remarkable city. And I may here observe one of its most peculiar characteristics, viz., that the whole of the Old

Town—containing those scenes which I have sought to describe in my walk through its precincts, and have already mentioned in the present volume—is encircled by the structures of comparatively recent date. And an additional peculiarity is, that this Old Town positively refuses to be hid. It stands so loftily, and is reared up so abruptly between two valleys, that it *will* be seen, and will not be cast into oblivion by its younger rivals, by streets, squares, and dwellings of more modern date. On this in part, as well as on the shape of the ground, depends, I believe, the sense of singularity as well as grandeur with which Edinburgh strikes every traveller's eye. I allude both to foreigners as well as to my own countrymen, and speak from what I have so often heard both at home and abroad.

CHAPTER XV.

Refuge of the Destitute—Night Refuge—The Report—Plaids—
Book Shops—Periodicals—Lodgings—Religion in Scotland—
Distinct Professions.

DURING one of my walks, I paid a visit to the House of Refuge for the Destitute, and bestowed particular attention on that part of the system which has been introduced with the joint object of checking mendicity, and at the same time of affording needful relief, on a judicious plan. I am well aware that mendicity is often *mendacity*, and of course, as having been a clergyman, in a large town, I have, perhaps, had as much experience as most individuals, in the nature and character of the system—for mendicity is a system. Nevertheless I have long held, and hold still, that a stern, positive, unbending prohibition of begging is a cruel, unwarrantable act, when nothing systematic and effective is done to obviate its necessity, on right and proper principles. First establish real and available help

for the shelterless wanderer, or for the poor and hungry sufferer, whose case the Poor Law will not meet, and to whom, if the case is genuine, relief in alms some way ought, on every principle of religion and humanity, to be given most willingly—and then alms may be discouraged, but not till then. The Mendicity institutions, if well managed, supported, and attended to, have, in some towns, accomplished this most desirable result.

The House of Refuge which I visited is held in a building which was once the dwelling of a Scotch nobleman. The average number in the house during the last year was three hundred and seventy-six, independent of those in the Night Refuge department. One of the prominent rules is, that “all who are not incapacitated by old age, infirmity, or sickness, must be occupied. The young attend school, the adults are kept at useful work; none are permitted to remain idle.”

The department of the Night Refuge provides a shelter for the houseless poor men, women, or children, who may be obliged to avail themselves of such temporary home. All who come and make application are supplied with an evening meal, and a well-warmed, well-lighted place of rest for the night, and abundance of hot water

for thorough washing. A large number of the poor and destitute is received in this manner during the course of the year. I quote from the Report :

“ The numbers admitted during the year 1842, amounted to 15,415, and during the year 1843, to 19,524 ; making a total amount thus relieved during the last two years of no less than 34,939. It is therefore manifest that there is an absolute necessity for maintaining this portion of your institution in full operation.” And again it is interesting to know, as an additional piece of information connected with this subject, that “ the individuals under notice have not merely had a temporary provision made for their immediate wants for a night or two, but their cases having been under the notice of the Visiting Directors, many of them have been transferred to the General Department, or have otherwise had more permanent relief secured to them.”

I saw the rooms which were allotted to their nightly reception. It is melancholy to think that such measures should be requisite ; but, this point being admitted, it should be a subject of thankfulness to all who feel for the sufferings of the poor, that such plans are now in progress of adoption through the great cities of our land,

as an immediate provision against the extremity of want. I have mentioned before that the rooms are well warmed and lighted, and they are carefully washed and cleaned every day. During the night previous to my visit no less than sixty-nine had been accommodated in this place.

In the Report are some statistical tables which might be of value for ascertaining the respective state of destitution experienced among the inhabitants of different localities in the vicinity of Edinburgh, and, among other classes, are many who make applications for nightly relief.

I see in the last three months of 1841, and subsequent nine months of 1842, the applicants from Edinburgh, St. Cuthbert's and Canongate, were 5,692 in number ; for Leith, 529 ; for the parishes of Dalkeith, Duddington, Musselburgh, and Portobello, 445 ; for Lanark and Renfrew-shires, 1,960 ; for all other parts of Scotland, 4,282 ; for England, 1,030 ; for Ireland, 1,325 ; and of foreigners 152 ; the sum total amounts to 15,45.

In 1842—3 the number was larger still. It was no less than 19,524. The proportions were, generally speaking, on the same ratio, but they were rather diminished under the respective heads of Leith and England.

I did not observe any peculiarities as to the dress of the people in the streets worthy of remark, except that now and then a man passed wearing that most convenient article, the plaid or tartan shawl—a wrap which so well illustrates the oft-repeated remark that the simplest thing is often the best. It is inconceivable to a stranger in how many ways this article may be worn by one experienced in its use ; how it may be shifted to cover different parts of the frame, or according to the quarter of the rain and the wind. I am sure that nothing except the singularity of the dress, when worn in England, prevents those who have once tried it in Scotland from continuing its use elsewhere. However one sees more specimens than formerly, particularly among travellers by railroad, &c. I was for several days exposed to very wet inclement weather, and I certainly can say, that nothing I ever wore as an outward garment, afforded me so much protection as a common shepherd's plaid, which I bought at Galashiels—a choice place for the fabric. In speaking however of dress, as seen at Edinburgh, I must not omit the costume of the Leith fish-women, which is an attire peculiarly picturesque. Many of the shops in the chief thoroughfares display plaids and tartans of much beauty and variety,

in silk and other materials. But mentioning shops, I must refer to certain trades, which appear to have most abundant encouragement in this city. One is that, of which the reader will be reminded by one of Scotland's old titles, *The Land o'Cakes*. The cake-shops are innumerable, and their number is equalled by the profusion and excellence of their supplies. Fine fruit too seems abundant, though I cannot help thinking how much more, this year at all events, its maturity and exhibition for sale must depend on the skill of the gardener than on the ripening effect of the unaided sun. But Scotch gardeners are renowned all over the world.

Most observable, however, are libraries and book-shops, which, in proportion to the number of other shops and to the number of the inhabitants of Edinburgh, far surpass any thing which I have ever witnessed in any other town, either at home or abroad. And here I do not so much allude to showy establishments half filled with ornamental stationery and glittering with gay bindings, though these are not wanting, but rather to plain business-like houses, filled with good collections of stock books, to which you might fancy that the middle classes and industrious students would repair, in search of

literary information, or of means of pursuing those various studies, to which the youth of Scotland apply themselves with such assiduity and zeal. Surely the existence of these vast number of libraries is a fact, which (to use a phrase appropriate to the subject) must speak *volumes* as to that exercise of intellectual faculties, for which, throughout all classes, Scotland has been long famed, and is famed still. The publishing and printing establishments of Scotland are very numerous, including those which issue the Edinburgh Review, Blackwood's Magazine, Tait's Edinburgh Magazine, the North British Review, and many other periodicals devoted to religion, politics, and literature. The amount of mental and manual employment which the maintenance of such publications must, year after year occasion in a town of this size, has, of course, a considerable influence on the intelligence, and prosperity of the inhabitants. That best encouragement, the encouragement of the public, ensures an attention to literature and the arts connected with publishing, which otherwise would lie dormant, or, at all events, seek its development elsewhere.

For the information of strangers, I will just mention that a street in Edinburgh very commonly is represented by a word strange enough to the

ears of a Southern, when visiting this city for the first time—also, that the position of the different localities is described by a reference not to the right or the left, but to the points of the compass. On my first arrival I pulled up the ponies shortly after entering the town, and inquired my way to George street. The answer given me was, “*Second diveesion, west.*” This rendered me in no respect whatever wiser than I was before in regard to the subject of inquiry; but I was instructed, as to my way, in phraseology more familiar to my ear. The meaning was, “*Second Street, left.*”

At the time of year when we were at Edinburgh there was no lack of lodgings, of a very superior character, as to size and accommodation, in the New Town. The house where we resided, like so many others in the neighbourhood, was lit by gas, and in an evening the bowls of brilliant light all about the house had a very cheering and inspiriting effect. All these houses are supplied at an annual charge, in proportion to the gas consumed at each residence. There are means of ascertaining this point with complete accuracy. I think that, in general, the owners of the houses, where the system is adopted, and with whom I spoke on the subject, seem to like the plan

extremely; but some were strong against its introduction. The expence is very moderate, compared with other means applied to the same purpose. One gentleman told me that gas was burnt throughout his house with great freedom from the top to the bottom of his residence, and in his stable too. The sum he paid was only twelve pounds a year. Another gentleman, in whose dwelling it was burnt more moderately and yet without stint, said that he paid eight pounds a year. There are some amusing accounts of the plentiful gaseous illuminations, as constantly used in Sir Walter Scott's, at Abbotsford, given in his life by Mr. Lockhart. It is known that he used to write with a strong glare just above his paper. The light in our house was most manageable: one could have a little speck not bigger than a pea, burning dimly in a bed-room, or by one bowl quite illuminate a drawing-room of no inconsiderable size.

The various religious professions, denominations, or churches to which the upper classes in Scotland belong, present a singular contrast to the uniformity in that matter generally prevalent in England.

In England the far greater number of persons in that rank are of the established Church; and, if

you hear any other account given regarding any person in that class, their case is considered as peculiar. Under ordinary circumstances, you are accustomed to take it for granted that all present are of the established Episcopal Church, dissent only extending to a small and limited number among the upper classes of England.

There are no less than four* distinct Protestant bodies, (speaking as to the religious profession of each) to which persons of corresponding rank in Scotland, met in society during a stranger's sojourn in Edinburgh, are respectively attached. Some are Scotch Episcopalians, some are English Episcopalians, that is, removed from connexion with the Scotch Episcopal Church, as for instance, Mr. Drummond's congregation. Some are Presbyterians, adhering to the Established Church, and some belong to the Free or Secession Church. While on the one hand the knowledge of this fact will make any one of right feeling careful and tender in general conversation on Church discipline and other kindred

* The Quarterly Review for the 1st of January, 1846, in an article connected with the present religious state of Scotland, but chiefly employed on the subject of the existing circumstances prevailing in the Episcopal Church in that country, commences with a special detail regarding these four distinct bodies. It treats also of a fifth—of those who hold the Romish faith.

I shall, in all probability, have occasion to refer to this article again on some future occasion.

subjects, it also gives to the inquirer the great advantage of being able, without difficulty, to enter into such conversation as may cause him to hear all sides on the important questions connected with these religious distinctions, and to form his opinion on fair and advantageous grounds.

CHAPTER XVI.

Episcopal Services—Scotch Episcopal Church—The Free Church—Progress of the Free Church—Refusal of Sites—Importance of the Subject—Spirit of the Scotch—Points at Issue—Intentions of the Writer—Position of the Writer—Inverness Meeting—Position of Inverness—Object of the Assembly—Place of meeting—Numbers in attendance—Opening of the Assembly—Proceedings—Missions—Sabbath question—Ecclesiastical questions—Translation of Ministers—Inverary—Removal of Pastors—Presbyterian Polity—Braemar—Dr. Candlish—Sabbath Services—Small Isles.

ON two of the three Sundays which I spent at Edinburgh, I was fully employed in assisting at the services of the Episcopal Church, and preached four times during my stay in that city. On one of these occasions it was at St. John's, the large and beautiful Church, which is the first among the many and fair structures of this capital, attracting the admiring gaze of the traveller on his arrival from Glasgow and the west. The edifice is lofty, graceful, and highly finished, both within and without.

The minister of St. John's is the Rev. E. B. Ramsay, Dean of Edinburgh. We passed a

very pleasant evening at his house, and I felt much interested in communicating with one, who, from his long standing in the place, from the active part which he has taken in all the affairs of the Scottish Episcopal Church, and, above all, from that friendly and sympathizing disposition which renders him so much beloved and esteemed among his brethren, must be so highly qualified to give a stranger much and trustworthy information concerning that body, in which he occupies a high and very responsible position. Among other matters he gave me some particulars of the Scottish Episcopal Church Society, to which he is the Secretary, and mentioned that the poverty existing among some of the Episcopal clergy was of such a character, that there were more than thirty of the number, whose incomes were under eighty pounds a year; and in order to raise them to that small amount it required an expenditure by this Society of eight or nine hundred pounds from a subscription fund applicable to that purpose.

I shall henceforth have frequently to speak of the state of religion in Scotland, and of the various questions by which the prominent branches of the Church in this country are at the present moment so remarkably occupied, if not, to speak more accurately, agitated. And

here appears to be a fit place for making a few general allusions to the subject. I shall first speak of the Free Church, whose proceedings have of late drawn attention, and not without ample cause.

Every one who is at all interested in public affairs, has heard of the late Disruption or Sécession in the established (of course, I mean the Presbyterian Church) of Scotland ; and, in all probability, remembering that the question has been prominently brought before Parliament, will also have observed how completely State-legislation has failed in effecting its intended purpose. And whoever has not let the subject pass away altogether from his mind, will undoubtedly have heard in vague and general terms of the vast numbers who have sided with the Free Church, of the able and distinguished preachers who are now counted among its adherents, of the vast hold and influence obtained by them over a large proportion of the Scottish*

* In the early part of the present year £700,000 had been subscribed towards the promotion and accomplishment of the objects held in view by the members of the Free Church. At the time to which I refer not less than five hundred and forty churches had been raised, and it was expected that six hundred would be finished before the close of the year. A salary of £120 had been voted to every minister of the Church from the common fund. Means have been taken with a view to the erection of a manse and school-house in every parish where there was a Church. A college has been undertaken, towards which ten individuals in two or three

population, and of the great success and activity with which their religious measures, both at home and abroad, have been hitherto

days subscribed £1,000 each. And to mention that which is, perhaps, the most remarkable fact of all, amidst all these exertions and contributions, the subscriptions of the Free Church body, towards the furtherance of missions to the Jews and the Heathens, have by no means diminished, but, on the contrary, have absolutely exceeded the amount previously subscribed by the whole undivided Presbyterian Church of Scotland. This is only a short abstract of some of its proceedings, and much more might be told. Making every allowance for the temporary enthusiasm of any exciting religious crisis, as well as for the effects which rivalry and competition ever has had and ever will have in all human affairs, not excluding those of a religious character, these exertions must claim and fix the attention of all observers, and the motives which arouse a cautious and discriminating people to such efforts and expenditure, must be of no common order, and of no common strength.

One instance of the enthusiasm in behalf of any measure undertaken by the leading members of the body, may be drawn from the fact that, of one book published under the superintendence of a committee appointed for the purpose of bringing out a certain number of religious publications in a cheap form, no less than forty thousand copies were bespoke, before the work had issued from the press.

I may as well mention here that the series, (of which the volume alluded to was one) has proved so valuable in its character, and at the same time so attainable by its low price, as to have been since purchased with avidity, and read with deep interest by multitudes throughout the realm.

The series is called that of the Works of Scotch Reformers and Divines, and four volumes are supplied for the annual subscription of four shillings.

Those issued for the first year are :—Practical Writings of Knox ; Practical Writings of Traill ; Rutherford's Trial and Triumph of Faith ; Lives of Mrs. Veitch, Mr. Thomas Hog, and Rev. Henry Erskine.

Those for the first issue of the second year consist of Fleming's Fulfilling of the Scripture, and Select Writings of David Dickson.

conducted. Some too have heard much of the refusal to give sites for erecting Free Churches, on the part of different landed proprietors holding the exclusive possession of vast districts in various parts of Scotland—of the strong feelings and excitement consequent on these refusals, and of assemblages for public worship in tents, on the sea-shore, on the hill-side or the open road, from the difficulties experienced by the members of the Free Church in gaining or establishing any better means of meeting together on the Lord's Day. Neither is it altogether unknown in England that this Secession has originated, or influenced various newspapers, periodicals, and other publications, so that they specially advocate its cause, and in some instances, may be looked upon as the direct organs of that body. Among the publications occupying one or the other of these two positions are the *Witness*, the *North British Review*, the *Home and Foreign Missionary Record*, and the *Free Church Magazine*. These general outlines may be, and are known in a limited degree to the English public at large, and more accurately from their respective position and circumstances, to the Members of the Legislature, to the English Clergy, and to all who watch with interest the various religious movements, by which our times are so distinctly

marked. Nevertheless, in many quarters very confused notions prevail in regard to the Free Church of Scotland, to the grounds on which it acts, and to its general principles. Nor indeed except by close special study of the individual question, both as to recent facts and as to its connection with Scottish history, (speaking both constitutionally and religiously), from the very time of the Reformation up to the present moment—except, I repeat, by this special study, combined with personal communication on the matter with the Scottish people in all ranks, and in various localities, or at all events, as a substitute for the second measure, without a close and diligent attention to what is related, as to their present feelings and convictions, by trustworthy witnesses—can I conceive how it is possible for any one either to act, or to speak with decision of opinion on the subject, as one satisfied that he has had the means of right judgment thereupon? It is my firm belief that it is impossible to overrate the magnitude, importance, and extensive bearings of the Free Church question. Much and most evidently have they been deceived, who thought that the excitement was but for a moment; that great things were announced and prophesied, but that little would ensue; that few ministers would carry out their

professed declarations, in leaving the Established Church of the land ; and, finally, that if they did, few out of the laity would be their adherents at the day of trial. These anticipations have proved utterly erroneous ; and I fully believe that all anticipations formed on the same basis, and in the same school, as suggesting any return or retrograde movement whatever among the members of the Free Church, will prove exactly of the same character—erroneous, and unable to bear the test of experience and fact.

It will not, I think, suit the character of these pages, and, indeed, it would prove far too protracted a task, were I to dwell historically on the character of that portion of the Scotch people, who, in each succeeding generation, have been at different times imbued with the strong feelings of their ancestors and countrymen as to religious doctrine and ecclesiastical discipline, or to show that when the current has once evidently taken that special direction, which it has of late taken in that body, nothing can effectually stop it. I only suggest due attention to this matter of historical experience and truth, and I do so, having no doubt whatever that such attention will ensure assent to this statement, if not recognized at once, without denial or dispute.

Neither shall I enter here into the *legal*, or it should rather be called, the *constitutional* points at issue on the matter, but prefer to reserve that part of the question for another part of this work. All therefore which I say here is, that so far from the adherents of the Free Church considering themselves to be disobedient to the law of the land, or to be acting in a manner adverse to its constitution, they hold that the law and constitution is on their side, but that from the interpretation issued by authority, they cannot, with consistency, retain the advantages of an Established Church, though they consider them as *de jure* theirs. Whether having seceded and given them up they would accept them again, on any terms at all similar to those on which they held them before, is quite another topic.

Another intention, which might be attributed to the writer of these pages, or by some might be expected from him, is one which he is most anxious to disclaim — I mean that of passing any systematic judgment of his own as to the fundamental and essential principles on which the two parties—that of the Establishment, and that of the Secession—are guided respectively in their course. I say, *fundamental and essential principles*, because I think that

one, who has hitherto had no personal connexion with the country or its inhabitants, and has only given to its history and interests that very scanty share of attention, to which mere general reading and desultory observation on current public affairs would lead, is quite incapable of forming a decision as to these principles, with any adequate security for sound judgment and accurate views. But having said this, I desire also to add, that I would not extend this restriction to comments, and expression of opinion, on the proceedings of the two parties, although I am well aware that principles and their results must always, more or less, be connected, even as matters on which mere opinion is exercised. While, therefore, the old saying, *γνωθι σεαυτον* will in one case be applied, so as to enforce salutary restraint; in the other, should occasion occur, I shall give free scope to any observations which may be called forth by the actions, expressions, or system of either side, as they appear to me developed and exemplified in act. These must surely be allowed by all candid judges to be fair subjects of comment, opinion, and judgment, according to the means offered to a mere passing traveller.

Neither do I say this with any *εἰσῶνεια*—with

any self-detraction or disparagement of that information which one in my circumstances may be enabled to obtain and communicate ; because, with all the admitted disadvantages of transient and superficial inquiry, a stranger has this advantage in treating of such subjects, viz : that he alone can so observe, and therefore so write upon them, as to make them of real interest to the great body of readers. An individual who has lived all his life in any scene of peculiar and striking character is, perhaps, from the effect of custom in obliterating every sense of peculiarity from his own mind, the least qualified of all persons to offer a graphic and attractive account of that, which is to him so exceedingly familiar. May I not accordingly venture to say, that a Scotchman is not so likely to treat of subjects like those which concern the Scotch Church, in a manner likely to catch the observable and salient points ; while a stranger might do it, though without a tithe of his knowledge and experience ? I doubt not that it is far better to fall into some occasional error, or commit any of the venial faults to which a stranger is liable, than, on the one hand, to write a cumbrous detail under the idea that everything which a man is able to communicate to others, must be

written down ; or, on the other hand, to omit altogether those details, which though well-known at home, and by those constantly occupied therein, are new and of vivid interest at a distance from the scene of their constant and daily recurrence.

One of the most important meetings which ever took place, was that of the General Assembly of the Free Church, held at Inverness, which occurred during the period of our stay in Edinburgh. We were strongly recommended to be present at this meeting, as one which would give us a full and lively representation of the tone and feeling prevalent among the Scotch on the subject of religion, as well as an opportunity of seeing many representatives of the Highland ministers and population gathered together under circumstances peculiarly favourable to the exhibition and development of their character. At one time we had arranged to be there, and apartments had been secured for us in the town of Inverness ; but, to my regret, different occurrences interfered with our plan, and prevented its fulfilment. However, I had subsequently numerous and advantageous opportunities of conversation with many individuals who had been at Inverness on the occasion, and with some who had taken an active

part in the proceedings to which I refer. Besides this, I regularly read the Reports of all matters connected with the Assembly, during the whole week of its continuance ; and, indeed, the subject was so constantly brought forward in all classes of society, whether by its adherents, or by its opponents, that one could hardly fail of hearing so much upon it, as to render any notice, such as I could introduce here, rather a selection of statements on the question than their full enumeration.

As this was the first meeting held in the Highlands, and considered as one of no slight importance, it may be well to mention what its main objects were ; why it was held at this particular time ; and whence the selection of this particular locality in preference to Edinburgh, or to Glasgow, or any other town nearer to the capital.

The fact is, that Inverness is a kind of Highland capital, easily reached from Sutherlandshire, Rosshire, and other districts of the north. By means of the Caledonian canal and Loch Ness, it is not unfavourable to approach by water from the numerous western islands, and the various headlands in that direction, covered with a population deeply interested in the questions to be brought forward on the occa-

sion. The fine northern town of Inverness was therefore chosen, as being conveniently situated for gathering together the ministers and elders of the Free Church, as well as many others zealous in the cause for which they were to assemble, which was, that of considering the spiritual state of the Highlands, and the most available means for meeting and relieving their wants as to the Ministry of the Word, and other kindred matters connected with the progress of religion, as developed in, or forwarded by the body of the Free Church of Scotland, both at home and abroad. It was intended that these subjects should be fully considered and discussed, both in private committees and in public sittings, open to all who might wish to attend. During the sittings of the Assembly there was to be a succession of services, both in English and in Gaelic, and opportunities were to be given for hearing statements on subjects of a missionary character from various persons qualified to afford it, such as Dr. Wilson, from India, Mr. Bonar, from Canada, Dr. Kalley, from Madeira, and many others of corresponding character and note in the Church of Christ.

In order to facilitate these various objects,

and to accommodate the multitudes of visitors expected to be present, from interest in the cause, or from a desire to observe the proceedings, a large wooden pavilion was erected, capable of giving comfortable accommodation to three thousand people, and of holding four thousand in case of need. The site for erecting this grand and capacious pavilion, as well as the use of some adjoining schools, was granted to the Assembly by the Magistrates and Town-Council of Inverness, free of any charge ; and such was the liberal and good feeling prevalent in the town and neighbourhood on this remarkable occasion, that the utmost hospitality was shown to all comers, and houses were thrown open to visitors and Free Church representatives, independently of all private judgment and feeling, while the most perfect order prevailed in the town, notwithstanding the multitude assembled, and the keen interest felt on the subjects discussed, and the intensely strong opinions inwardly cherished, and fearlessly declared throughout Scotland generally on the Free Church question, both by its friends and its foes. Many persons, including some engaged in laborious daily avocations, came from very distant parts of the Highlands ; and

at the public meeting on the very first day, there were above two thousand persons present,* independent of the members of Assembly. The Highland plaid was conspicuous among the men ; the cap or handkerchief, instead of a bonnet, as a head-dress among the women, after the older and more primitive fashion of the country, still kept up in distant parts.

Besides the Scotch, who were gathered in such numbers, there were several visitors from England and Ireland. I understood that one individual, who was well used to public business, and had been long acquainted with the oratorical capacities of all the chief parliamentary speakers, expressed the greatest admiration at the general powers and abilities exhibited on this occasion by the Free Church Ministers, who took part in the proceedings.

I shall now give a sketch or analysis of the business transacted throughout the week of meeting.

Thursday, August 21st, was the first day of meeting, and twelve o'clock was the hour

* In the same channel of information from which I take this statement, I subsequently find it observed : "We believe that the number present on the day of the opening was underrated by us, and that, instead of saying 'there could not be fewer than two thousand present,' exclusive of members, we ought to have said that the number was nearly three thousand."

for assembling. The proceedings were opened by a Sermon from the Moderator (Dr. Patrick Macfarlane, of Greenock), who preached to an immense congregation on Ephes. ch. ii, 20, 21, 22nd verses. The chief purpose and scope of his address was to show forth the distinctive characteristics of a true church, and to urge upon those who were present the necessity of realizing and exhibiting such characteristics, if they would have God's blessing rest upon themselves personally, or upon their undertakings as a church.

Dr. Macfarlane was succeeded by Dr. Macdonald, of Urquhart, who preached in the Gaelic language, from the 17th chapter of the Acts, 6th verse, viz: "These that have turned the world upside down are come hither also." In discussing the subject, he stated, that the charges brought against the Free Church were the same as were brought against the Apostles. He illustrated this idea under the following particulars: — 1. The Apostles were charged with breaking the law; 2. With bringing in strange doctrines; 3. With disturbing the peace of families; 4. With driving men mad; and, 5th. With never remaining in one place, but constantly wandering about spreading their doctrines. He concluded by an appeal to the

ministers, calling on them, notwithstanding the charges brought against them, to persevere in spreading the knowledge of the Gospel throughout the country, looking to Christ for the blessing of his Spirit on their labours. The Gaelic psalmody, with which this service was accompanied, appears to have had a most touching and impressive effect on all, whether strangers or natives, who were present to hear it.

The Assembly was then "constituted," (as it is termed) and the roll was called, when one hundred and sixty-nine members answered to their names. I believe that these were all ministers and office-bearers, present as representatives of the Free Church from all quarters of the land. Arrangements were then made for public services on the ensuing Sabbath, and on every day during the sitting of the Assembly. After a short speech from Dr. Candlish, apparently with the view of sketching out for the public those objects for which they were met, and the general plan of future proceedings, the Assembly adjourned until half-past six in the evening.

The evening meeting (or "sederunt," as it is called) commenced with devotional exercises; and, subsequently Mr. Bonar spoke on the religious state of Canada, especially in connexion

with the Presbyterian and Free Church Mission. He was succeeded by Mr. Wood and Dr. Kalley, who had both lately returned from the island of Madeira—the former speaking more peculiarly of the Free Church Missionary exertions in that island, the latter of the general effects of that work of God, through the public and private testimony in behalf of the Gospel, in which he had been a most honourable and most successful instrument.

Public worship was carried on in the Pavilion in the Gaelic language every morning at half-past seven; and on Friday morning the Assembly met at ten o'clock, and were engaged for two hours in private conference on that most exciting subject—I mean the refusal of sites—a subject on which, as causing so much agitation throughout a large portion of Scotland, and as one which must be looked upon generally with much interest, whether with a reference to religious, political, or to social affairs—I shall naturally have to speak more in detail by and by.

On the commencement of public business, Mr. Fox Maule proposed a vote of thanks to the magistrates of Inverness, for the use of the premises in which the Pavilion was erected, where they were met together. To this succeeded

a Report from the Board of Missions and Education, and another Report presented by Dr. Keith on the conversion of the Jews. After this part of the business was concluded, several addresses were delivered in the Gaelic language to the Highland population in attendance, on the Missionary and educational schemes of the Free Church. In using the word "schemes," I employ their own phraseology, and not mine; which I mention, as otherwise this expression might possibly seem to convey some latent or secondary meaning, of which I have no idea whatsoever.

In the evening the subject of Missions was resumed, and the meeting was addressed at considerable length by Mr. W. S. Mackay, from Calcutta, and by Dr. Wilson, from Bombay. Dr. Brown and Dr. Candlish also spoke to the question; and subsequently a Report of the Committee on the Observance of the Sabbath, was given in and read. It contained an allusion to the Newcastle Lord's Day Society, as being one which had exhibited much activity and zeal in the cause. I select one passage of the Report, inasmuch as the subject cannot be too often or too forcibly pressed upon the inhabitants of Great Britain at this present day. From whatsoever quarter a warning or summons to watch-

fulness or action may come, all whose conscience it touches ought, surely, to listen, and not only listen, but exert themselves with all diligence, each in his own sphere of duty, assigned by Him who is "Lord of the Sabbath." And how many consciences are now involved in all which refers to the railways of the land !

"Your Committee have also their eye steadily directed to what is passing in the commercial world more immediately around them, and to the desecration both existent, and which may be contemplated on the various lines of railways which are now so rapidly extending ; and, through the instrumentality of individual parties, members of your Committee and others, they trust that at the ensuing meeting of the directors of these companies, a decided stand in behalf of Christian truth, and of God's holy law respecting the Sabbath, will again be made."

On Saturday the Assembly, after an hour of renewed private conference on the refusal of sites, met for public proceedings at eleven ; and, after a short recurrence by Dr. Wilson to the India Mission, some business was transacted on matters more especially appertaining to the Ecclesiastical arrangements of the Free Church in Scotland, speaking with an internal and domestic view.

The first case related to the Rev. W. S. Hay, and, so far as I can trace it out, was as follows. He had received a unanimous call from Bankhead, in the Parish of Midmar, but the members of the Presbytery of Kincardine O'Neil refused, or rather delayed to "sustain the call" (as it is termed) in consequence of his delicate health; and, though they appointed him to minister in the neighbourhood, were unwilling to induct him to the charge, without, (as they expressed it) "referring the case for advice and instruction to the adjourned meeting of the general Assembly, appointed to be held at Inverness." The Assembly decided "that the Rev. W. S. Hay might with all propriety be 'settled' at Bankhead, and instructed the Presbytery of Kincardine O'Neil to proceed in his induction with all convenient speed."

Another question of the same character, but regarding the "translation" of a minister from one charge to another, was then brought forward. In this case the same Presbytery of Kincardine O'Neil was engaged, and the circumstances of it referred to the translation or non-translation of the Rev. W. M'Rae from Braemar to Inverary. The discussion was so interesting in itself, as an exhibition of Scotch ecclesiastical affairs, and so important as bearing on that very point which

may be considered the very life and centre of the whole body politic of the Secession—I mean the appointment of ministers—that, instead of abbreviating the discussion, I have inserted it at length. It is a document which I strongly recommend to the perusal and interest of all who feel disposed to investigate and weigh the present position and prospects of the Free Church.

PROPOSED TRANSLATION OF MR. M'RAE FROM
BRAEMAR TO INVERARY.

This case came up before the Assembly as a Protest and Appeal by the Presbytery of Dunoon and Inverary, against the judgment of the Presbytery of Kincardine O'Neil, as refusing to translate Mr. M'Rae to the congregation of Inverary. Parties having been called, Dr. M'Kay, of Dunoon, and Mr. M'Bride, and Mr. Stark appeared for the Presbytery of Dunoon and Inverary ; Mr. Stewart, Mr. Robinson, and Mr. Gatherer, for the Presbytery of Kincardine O'Neil, and Mr. M'Queen, (elder), for the congregation of Braemar. No appearance was made for the congregation of Inverary, Mr. M'Combie, who represented them, being unable to be present. The case having been stated from the bar, in the course of which Mr. M'Queen

shortly described the good effects which had resulted from Mr. M'Rae's labours in Braemar, and gave it as his opinion that his removal would have the effect of destroying the congregation ;

Mr. M'Rae said, he had been strongly urged to leave the case entirely in the hands of the Church Courts so far as he was concerned himself ; but as he had formed an opinion on the subject—an opinion, whether right or wrong, which had been prayerfully arrived at, he felt it to be his duty to give utterance to it. In reference to translations in general, it must be allowed on all hands, that there were occasions when translations must take place ; but certainly they should never take place without much caution, both on the part of the Church and of the individual himself ; and he thought that, particularly in a poor country, a congregation should not be readily deserted, as it was those congregations that had the greatest difficulties to encounter ; and he knew nothing more discouraging than to being subjected to the continual hazard of being deprived of their minister. He could not help remarking that, so far as he had been enabled to perceive, the tendency of translations in general, since the Disruption, had been very much towards the centre, and that the outposts of the

country had been in a great measure deserted, and that there were very few translations towards the extreme parts of the country. Inverary was an important field of labour, and he must acknowledge that that was one great objection to his translation thither. He had been there already, and it was his decided conviction that it was not a charge suited for him. He was obliged to go to Braemar from another part of the country for the benefit of his health ; and during the period that he laboured at Inverary he fell back in his health. Braemar was an entirely isolated locality, and could only be supplied by a resident minister. During several months in the year, it was entirely blocked up with snow, which made it inaccessible, and the Presbytery could never supply it if the minister were removed. The nearest Free Church was seventeen miles distant from Braemar, and the greater part of the congregations in the Presbytery were about forty miles distant from Braemar. It was his decided conviction, that if he were removed, in present circumstances, the congregation would entirely sink. Besides Braemar was not an unimportant station. During four months in the year the congregation was very small ; but in summer it was resorted to by many visitors for the benefit of their health, and also by many Scottish and

English nobility for other purposes. It was his opinion that it would have a very bad moral effect if the congregation there were entirely abandoned.

Mr. M'Rae concluded by alluding to the change which had taken place among the population in the district, and said, that although the evidence of religion, as exemplified in the life, was a very delicate subject to advert to, yet he thought he could but regard the operation of the Lord's hand : and he might express it as his belief that their Master had, to some extent, been pleased to countenance his labours in that place ; and in these circumstances he did not feel it to be consistent with his duty to abandon them.

Mr. Carment sympathized very much with the congregation of Inverary in having been so often disappointed in the calls they had given to pastors ; but it was sometimes the case that congregations had themselves to blame, and he suspected that the congregation of Inverary had been soaring a little too high in seeking such ministers as they thought had a greater name than others. He objected strongly to the attempts that were made at Inverary, and at other places he could name, to take away ministers from congregations by whom they

were beloved and respected, and where the Lord, as in the case of Braemar, seemed to be blessing their labours. The congregation of Inverary might have given a call to some of the probationers of the Church. In this case the health of the minister would not bear him to be translated; and, in all the circumstances of the case, he considered that it would be cruelty in the extreme, not only to the people of Braemar, but to Mr. M'Rae himself, to remove him to a station where he would not long exist in health, or do the duties necessary to be performed. He would say, that the destitution of the people of Braemar was greater than that of Inverary; and if the people of the latter place chose to take a boat and cross Loch Fine, they would enjoy the ministrations of Mr. Stark. This might, however, be too much for the gentry of Inverary. He would just move that the Assembly dismiss the Appeal of the Presbytery of Inverary and Dunoon, and affirm the judgment of the Presbytery of Kincardine O'Neil.

Dr. Candlish said he was quite prepared to defer to the plea of health, if he were pressed; but he must distinctly state that it was to that plea alone that he could defer. He had no sort of hesitation in saying, that, apart from the plea of health, it seemed to him that every

reason was in favour of the translation, and that there was no serious objection against it. Much had been said about the evil the Church had suffered from translations. Now, he would take leave here to say, that, after having paid particular attention to all that had passed in this way since the disruption, that, in so far as the Church may have suffered from translations being carried out, it has not been from those translations which have come up before the Assembly. He would venture to say, on the other hand, that the Church had suffered, and to no inconsiderable extent, from the refusal to some translations which had come up to the Assembly—refusals to translate justified in the circumstances, nay rendered necessary. Now, he could not but think that this was one of those cases in which the Church must consent to suffer damage, as it was the bounden duty of the Church to carry out no translation which would injure the health and usefulness of any one minister. None could have listened to the statement made by the respected member of the congregation of Braemar, without being deeply impressed with a sense of gratitude for what the Lord had been doing by the ministry of his servant. He would venture to say, that, if the pleadings from the bar were to be at all similar

to the statement they had heard from the member of that congregation, they had reason to congratulate themselves on the absence of all counsel from the Church Courts. He was specially anxious—and he must own that he would scarcely have risen at all had it not been for it—he was specially anxious to counteract the effect, unintentionally he had no doubt when made, of what was said by Mr. Carment in reference to the case of Inverary. The charge of Inverary was not a metropolitan charge—it was not a central one. He held that it was one of the outposts of the Church ; and the result of a recent visit he had made to this very congregation, and his recent observations of the whole district along the banks of Loch Fine, made him desirous to proclaim to all the ministers and congregations of the Free Church, that the charge of Inverary was one of the most strictly missionary within the bounds of the Church of Scotland. He was exceedingly anxious to proclaim this, in order that brethren might be willing to entertain a call from Inverary, not as a call from the metropolis—from a central post ; not as a call from a place of ease ; but as being truly a call from a missionary station ; and that the congregations of the Church might be willing to look with an eye of favour on any

application from Inverary. He believed that there was a delusion in the very sound of Inverary, connected with the notion of a ducal castle standing there. There was some sort of notion that, being under the shadow of a ducal castle, there was some sort of charm in it to ministers of the Church, and that it was a place of ease and temptation. So far from that being the case, he believed that it was the worse for the interests of the Free Church, from its being the seat of a ducal castle, apart from the circumstance of the congregation of Inverary being in an exceedingly critical state. Along the whole banks of Loch Fine there was a field of missionary labour, which was lying at present almost entirely waste. He would take leave to say, that he could not advise the congregation of Inverary to make a call to a young and untried probationer. He knew from recent observation, that the individual who took the charge of Inverary, required to be a man thoroughly able to grapple with the Baptist controversy, and with some of the errors of the day—a man of tried and experienced gifts—a man, in short, thoroughly imbued with the missionary spirit. He feared that the Church would get into some difficulty if the views which have been promulgated in reference to transla-

tions should gain currency as being the views of the Church, because these views tend to hinder right translations. There was, apparently, a sort of notion gaining ground among the congregations of the Church, that pastors and ministers are in such a sense theirs as that they should retain them in their grasp as their own property, and should feel as if a wrong were done to them, when, for the greater good of the Church, it was deemed expedient to remove their pastors elsewhere. It seemed to be conceived by some that, as it was the principle of non-intrusion that no pastor could be settled in a congregation contrary to their will, so no pastor could be removed contrary to their will. Now, he could not help thinking, that the congregations connected with the Free Church of Scotland would do well to recollect that, as theirs was a Presbyterian polity, they ought to be subordinate to a large extent to the judgment of the Church Courts, and to the views which the Church Courts may set before them. He thought that in the particular matter, not of a settlement of a pastor amongst them, but of the proposal to remove him elsewhere, it would be well that congregations would hold themselves largely subordinate to the judgment of the superior Church Courts ; and for this very

obvious reason, that the people of any congregation only took a limited view of the circumstances—that they looked only to one side; but it would be well if they would recollect that it belonged to the Ecclesiastical Courts to look at all sides of the case. Now, he did fear that there may be something like a spirit of undue appropriation of ministers as their own, among the congregations of the Free Church, forgetting this important truth, that ministers were not given but only lent by the Great Head of the Church. On this occasion he was tempted strongly to give expression to these general views, because he was extremely anxious, that, while they should be most earnest in seeking to do nothing contrary to the mind of the people, they should not at the same time give a general dislike to translations; and, above all, because he was anxious that the congregations of the Free Church should cherish a brotherly and Catholic feeling. If a call to a foreign mission were addressed to the minister of any congregation, that congregation would feel itself ashamed were it to hold up its own particular interests against the cause of Foreign Missions. Now, he would say, that when a call was addressed to the minister of any congregation, it ought to be considered not only in reference to its own

interests, but in reference to the interests of the Church at large ; and he was sure that no congregation need have any apprehension, but that the Lord would reward them tenfold for any sacrifice they might be disposed to make for the good of their brethren elsewhere.

Mr. Campbell of Monzie confirmed the views of Dr. Candlish respecting the peculiar claims of Inverary ; but, like the reverend Doctor, he would defer to Mr. M'Rae's plea of ill health.

Dr. Clason, after remarking on the advantages which Mr. M'Rae would enjoy in Inverary, moved that the appeal be sustained, that the decision of the Presbytery be reversed, and that the Presbytery of Kincardine O'Neil be instructed to loose Mr. M'Rae from his present charge, in order to his settlement in Inverary with all convenient speed.

Dr. Cunningham said he was scarcely prepared yet to second the motion of Dr. Clason, although he was still less prepared to support the motion of Mr. Carment. He would fain hope that before the Assembly broke up they would be in a condition to resolve that Mr. M'Rae's connection with Braemar should be loosed. He entirely concurred in the views stated by Dr. Candlish on the subject of translations. He was afraid that erroneous opinions in these matters

were springing up among the congregations of the Free Church. He did not refer merely to their being too much in the habit of treating every case, simply and solely in regard to its own particular circumstances,—they must all be prepared for more or less of that, and could not prevent it; but what he most objected to and disliked in this matter was, that congregations in these circumstances never seem to entertain the idea, that they are called to take a more enlarged view, and to consider the good of the Church at large. In the present case, he considered that everything was in favour of the call to Inverary, except the single circumstance of the plea of ill health. To that they must, of course, all yield, when it was distinctly pleaded and fully borne out. But it did not strike him that there was any very distinct or decided standing upon this plea in the speech of Mr. M'Rae. He (Dr. Cunningham) was not quite satisfied that that was the ground on which Mr. M'Rae declined taking charge of the congregation at Inverary. He desiderated a more careful investigation into the state in which the matter stood; and he would require a very strong and distinct declaration from Mr. M'Rae himself, or satisfactory evidence from some other quarter as to the state of his health, before he (Dr. Cun-

ningham) could come to the decision that he was disqualified by the state of his health, or by any other cause, from taking charge of the congregation at Inverary. He (Dr. Cunningham) was very much opposed to foreclosing this case without some more explicit declaration from Mr M'Rae ; and he would move the appointment of a small Committee to confer with Mr. M'Rae, to ascertain what he is prepared to assert as his honest and conscientious conviction concerning this matter, and ascertain as far as possible how the whole case stands.

Mr. Sheriff Monteith suggested that the Report of any Committee that might be appointed should be received during the present sederunt, so that the same house might give the decision as had heard the pleadings of parties. He thought it would be doing injustice to the parties to bring up the Report at a subsequent meeting.

Mr. Nixon of Montrose was afraid that the claims of Braemar were not sufficiently appreciated by the house. There was a field of labour there which would require the active exertions of any minister who might be settled in the place. The village of Crathy alone might suffice for the labours of a minister. He had, himself, when on a visit to the place, addressed two hundred people on a week night in that village.

Dr. Cunningham observed that it was his opinion that the case should go to the Committee, if it was appointed, on the distinct understanding that the claim of Inverary was much stronger than that of Braemar; and that Mr. M'Rae should be translated to Inverary, provided his health would permit.

After some farther conversation.

Dr. Buchanan of Glasgow proposed that, leaving the Committee to investigate the point of Mr. M'Rae's health, the house should be left free to investigate the entire case, having that element before them, and no doubt the house would come to a unanimous decision.

Dr. Cunningham having consented to this arrangement, a Committee was appointed to confer with Mr. M'Rae, in respect specially to the plea of health, and to report to this Assembly.

To this succeeded a discussion regarding the moral character of a minister, and the conduct of certain elders and deacons. In this, as in the previous case, and, indeed, so constantly, Dr. Candlish took a share. From the frequency of his speeches, Dr. C—— seems to yield to none in prominence of position, if not to surpass all other members of the Assembly.

After some other transactions of an unimportant character, the Assembly adjourned at half-past four until the ensuing Monday.

The services of the Lord's Day were very full and numerous throughout Inverness. I just mention the arrangements and names of those who ministered to the various congregations who met together on that day.

Pavilion.—Forenoon — Dr. Candlish; Afternoon—Mr. M'Bride, Rothesay (Gaelic); Evening—Mr. Guthrie.

East Church, Mr. Sutherlands—Forenoon—Mr. Beith (Gaelic); Afternoon—Mr. Begg; Evening—Mr. Maclean, Tobermory (Gaelic).

English Church, Mr. Thorburn's—Forenoon—Mr. MacLeod, Snizort (Gaelic); Afternoon—Mr. M'Donald, Blairgowrie; Evening—Mr. M'Rae, Knockbain (Gaelic.)

North Church, Mr. M'Kay's—Forenoon—Mr. M'Intosh, Tain (Gaelic); Afternoon—Dr. R. Buchanan; Evening—Mr. M'Donald, Helmsdale (Gaelic.)

On Monday morning deputations were received from English Presbyterian friends of the Free Church. Then the Education Scheme was considered—then a case regarding the ministry of Mr. Swanson at Small Isles. His work seemed

of a very peculiar character, and a vessel had been placed at his disposal, partly as a means for moving from place to place with the purpose of preaching, and partly as a “floating manse”—to use the expression of Dr. Candlish in his speech on the subject.

CHAPTER XVII.

Refusal of Sites — Patronage — Scotch Proprietors — Popular excitement—Refusal of Sites—Importance of the Question—Chief Speakers—Political Receptions—Mr. Shiel's Speech—Declaration of Principles—Political expectations.

I now resume the account of Monday's proceedings. In the evening that grand question was brought forward, of which so much has been heard, not only from the columns of the public press, and in society at large, but in the very walls of Parliament, I mean of course, the Refusal of Sites—a subject of such consequence, as bearing on the social and religious condition of the country, and involving, (however, it may be decided between the proprietors and their tenants), such extended results, that a few remarks here, by way of preface, may not be undesirable. I would however add, that on this somewhat thorny topic, as throughout these pages, it is my wish to keep up the character of an observer, whensoever possible, and not to

enter into controversy, or even any decided expression of judgment, any farther than the point to which, in my own mind, a clear path of duty may constrain one to go.

I shall not now recur back to the religious affairs of Scotland farther than to the few years which have witnessed the rise and progress of the Free Church question, as developed at the present moment. I have therefore only to observe that, on the rise and first agitation of the question, the patronage of the Scotch established Church livings—Presbyterian, of course, as my English readers must remember—was chiefly in the hands of the Crown or of the noblemen and gentry, who were the owners of the Scottish soil. Now these are for the most part of the Episcopal Church. Some of them belong to the Presbyterian Establishment, and very few have adopted the principles of the Free Church. Now these Proprietors, as a body, have been strongly indisposed to a movement, by which the patronage of the livings would eventually either be taken out of their hands altogether ; or, by which, at all events their power in the choice and appointment of ministers would be much modified, curtailed, and restricted. Again—and I speak as one who feels perfectly convinced of the statements

which he makes, and with full confidence in the high principles and character to be found in so many of that body, to which he alludes—many of these proprietors, whether Episcopalians or Presbyterians remaining in the Established Church, would, on principle, disapprove of a system, by which influence would be withdrawn from the higher classes of society, (whom they might truly consider as the right depositories of religious power, to render its exercise fully beneficial and effectual), and by which the popular voice and will would have such increased weight. They might also strongly disapprove of agitation—as they might think without any, or without adequate cause. This might be their true conscientious judgment, and equally conscientious the opinion of some landlords that the movement was but of a transient character, and that, if opposed steadily at first, it would soon pass away.*

Now the enumeration of these various motives will, in some measure, prepare the inquirer for meeting the fact, which, from the proceedings in Parliament, was spoken of throughout the country, under the term “Refusal of Sites,”

* I certainly heard it stated, more than once, that in this view they showed but little knowledge of the religious determination of their countrymen on such matters.

and which gave rise to, and still keeps up, the most intense excitement, locally and nationally, in the Scottish mind. All at once the public was surprised with accounts of vast congregations meeting, from necessity, in the open field ; or, on a public road, because prohibited from standing on any other ground in the neighbourhood, or in moveable buildings, to which no permanent position and character could by any means be attached ;—of strange restrictions, conditions, and proposals, between landlords and tenants, in regard to the erection of buildings for public worship—of protracted correspondence between these two parties, without much apparent approximation, to unity, or harmony, on the matters in debate. And before long the subject was brought to a head by the presentation to Parliament of certain petitions, concerning which it may fairly be stated that they were some of the most extraordinary documents of our day ;—that they exhibited social contests, waged in the northern districts of Great Britain, unparalleled by any thing witnessed in our own times, and almost unparalleled by any thing known in our country since the feudal period. Certainly, if we look to Ireland there has been occasionally one or other landlord, of strong religious feeling, zeal, and determination in his opposition to

Popery—who has refused a site for the erection of a Popish chapel ; but in Scotland a large body of proprietors were united in their line of action, and this too when neither Popery, nor any system which involved similar unscriptural and dangerous tenets was concerned;—a large body, I say, was united in refusing sites for building religious edifices for Protestant purposes.

The news was very startling. A great sensation was made ; and according to the different disposition of the landed proprietors of Scotland, who had taken this course ; according to the strength of their convictions as to the evil of the new system ; according to their expectation as to the movement being of a transient or of a permanent character ; according to their judgment as to their prospects of success in continuing their opposition ; according to various mixed motives and feelings, which may be very easily imagined ; according, I say, to these things, has been their subsequent conduct. Some have yielded altogether, and with a good grace, to the wishes of the Free Church adherents on their various estates. Some have yielded partially, fighting the matter inch by inch, and adding every restriction which they could devise and enact, so as to obviate, as far as possible, the power and permanency of the

system, and to keep it open to attack should any future weakness appear. And some have not yielded at all, declaring their sentence to be for "open war" on the matter; and they, even to the present moment—in the opinion of some with bold consistency, and in that of others, with unreasonable obstinacy—will grant no site, and give no facilities whatever for anything like public worship on Free Church principles.

The conduct of the latter class of landlords virtually caused, (so far as I could ascertain,) the Inverness meeting, and fixed the special locality where the meeting was held. *There* was represented and embodied the strong conviction prevalent among an immense body of the Scotch people, that the conduct of these landlords was nothing less than tyranny and persecution, and that means must be devised for altering or disannulling their decisions, and bringing them to act entirely a new part on the grand question in dispute between the two parties.

I would just observe here, that when it is remembered that, with very few exceptions of laymen in a higher rank, the advocates and champions of the Free Church were either popular and able ministers, or men of the middle class, strong in public religious energy—two

classes, on whom, from all the analogy of Scottish history, it is beyond all doubt that local influence and power of all kinds must devolve, should landlords do anything to forfeit it, and should these new leaders accept it, as in this case they undoubtedly will—I say, when this is remembered, and also the quickly-spreading character of any proceedings by which the ancient, feudal, and proprietary bond is broken, one may well address every Scotch landlord, when thinking of the meeting held at Inverness—“*tua res agitur.*” One may well say to every English, Irish, or Scottish legislator, who may have to do with Scottish legislation, as touching these matters, “Bestow, at all events, diligent attention on the question.” Yes, one may go further, and say to every one interested in the social condition of the land, “Is this merely a beginning, or is it a beginning leading to a great, weighty, and as yet unseen end?” I will not conceal that many hold the latter opinion, and speak of it with awe; while, as in every similar case, some make one party accountable, and some the other for all the anticipated consequences—for all the coming social events, of which they see the shadow now passing over the land.

I may now proceed to give an analysis of the

Assembly's proceedings on the grand and absorbing question to which I have prefaced these remarks. I repeat once more, that I have made them with an eye to the following point, viz : that whatever opinion may be formed as to the conduct of each separate party, it is almost impossible to overstate the importance of the question at large.

The three speakers on the Refusal of Sites were Dr. Buchanan, Mr. Begg, and Dr. Candlish. Dr. Buchanan first gave the History of that Petition, which had been presented on the subject to the two Houses of Parliament, mentioning how it had been framed by a Committee of the Assembly—how the deputation, which had accompanied the petition to London, had been received by those Scottish landlords and Members of each House, with whom they had had personal communication ; and, finally, how the question had been treated in the speeches of those Lords and Members of the House of Commons, who had taken a prominent part in regard to the discussion. Relative to the landlords, Dr. Buchanan's general statement was, "we met with very little encouragement."

Concerning the private interviews with those of the "leading members of the Lords and Commons to whom the deputation had access,"

Dr. Buchanan states that the deputation “met with very great encouragement from both of the leading parties in politics alike,” adding:— “from Lord John Russell on the one side, and Sir Robert Peel on the other, we met with substantially the same reception, that is, an acknowledgment that our claim was a good and righteous claim.”

Dr. Buchanan then canvassed the speech of Sir James Graham, and dwelt a little on the following observation of the right honourable Baronet, viz., “that he had at length lost all expectation of the return of the Free Church to the establishment.” Then briefly reviewing the proceedings in the Lords, he dwelt on the speeches of the two “site-refusing proprietors,” (as he termed them) who had addressed that house, specially alluding to the observation of one as to his belief that the “movement of the Free Church would prove ephemeral,” and to that of the other, relative to the harsh terms with which he complained that he had been assailed.

Dr. B. then passed on to the conduct of the House of Lords, generally, on the occasion, eulogizing Lord Campbell (though one opposed to the Free Church principles) and the Marquis of Breadalbane, himself a member of the Free

Church, conscientiously attached to it, and the most distinguished individuals as to rank among all its supporters and adherents. He then proceeded to comment on the speech of Mr. Shiel, and then opening out on more extended topics, took the following high tone, and entered into that general manifestation of principle, as held by himself and his coadjutors, which I extract here, and of which I may observe, that it was received with a constant succession of vehement cheers and enthusiastic applause.

“It is necessary that Mr. Sheil, and all others interested in our movements, should distinctly understand that it was not a link of gold that ever bound us to the State; and that nothing but a link of principle can ever unite this Church to civil power. (Hear, hear.) Sir, when there remained no link to bind us to the State but one of gold, we cast it with indignation away. (Cheers.) When the link of principle was broken, we were ready to trample the link of gold, not as a mark of honour, but as a badge of servitude, beneath our feet. (Vehement cheers.) It is needful that men should understand the principle on which we proceeded in taking up our ground as a Free Church. It is not that we should be hangers-on and pensioners of the State, for a paltry *regium donum*. If they

would understand our terms, let them look to our claim of rights—(cheers)—let them learn from it that if we are to be accosted or treated with on the subject of a State alliance at all, it must be on the footing of our being the Established Church of Scotland — (renewed cheers)—it must be on the footing of their rescinding the Auchterarder decision, and all the other decisions founded upon it (continued cheers) on the footing of their rescinding Lord Aberdeen's Bill—on the footing of their rescinding the Stewarton decision—on the footing of unequivocally affirming the views which we and our fathers both took of the constitution of the ancient Church of Scotland—(applause)—which can have no head nor any superior in things spiritual, but the Lord Jesus Christ. Until the State be prepared to abjure all Erastianism, and to turn out those who are occupying our places —(vehement cheers)—until it be prepared to make a clear stage of the establishment, and let it be occupied by this Free Church, we cannot listen to these men,—we have nothing to say to any proposition emanating from the State, and we are not to be treated with on any footing of a *regium donum*. (Cheers.) And we must have very clear evidence that the State is sincere even in making such a proposition as that to

which I have now referred. I may, indeed, say, that the proposition is, in fact, such as that the making of it would involve a far greater revolution than that of 1688. (Hear, hear.) It is a proposition which I, for my own part, do not expect to see made till the millennium. Those who may live to see that blessed era may witness it; but I believe that none will see it realized before. And, if I have said any thing of that proposition, it is not because I imagine it for a moment to be possible, but merely for the sake of argument. I say, then, Sir, that, being separate from the State, as we now are, and in the circumstances in which that separation has come to pass, we would need good evidence that the State was prepared, out and out, and universally as a State, to act on the recognition and the maintenance of the great principle of the liberty and independence of the Church of Christ. (Hear, hear, hear.) For I believe this Church will not consent, even at the expense of any concession to itself, to come into a position in which it will be virtually the means of countenancing the Infidel principle, that a State may support error with one hand, and truth with another—(Hear, hear, hear)—that a State may speak against Christ and His Headship to one Church, and vindicate His

Headship to another. (Hear, hear, hear.) I believe it is that very principle which the State is seeking to set up, and to gain for it an ascendancy in its present policy. I believe that for the sake of that policy they would willingly grant a *regium donum* to any of the non-conforming Churches that would degrade themselves by accepting it; because, what is the whole drift of the present policy of the State in reference to Churches or religion? Will any man who has his eyes open, and has been looking with an intelligent mind to the course of public affairs, venture to deny, that the main drift of State policy, in reference to churches and religion, is to bring them, one way or another, so under the trammels of State influence, as that they may become the mere tools of the civil power? (Hear, hear.) Perhaps, as I have already said, it may seem going out of the way to indulge in observations like these; but, as the occasion of them came out in connection with this question of the refusal of sites in the House of Commons, and, as the discussion diverged into this subject there, it is not unreasonable that we should follow it with a similar discussion here. (Hear.) I believe that it is of great consequence, not for the sake of the ministers and members of our own Church, who

would scorn such a proposition as that of Mr. Sheil, or any proposition of a similar tendency—(cries of Hear, hear)—but it is important that we make such statements as these, in the way of a testimony to other Churches, and to the world at large, that they may be guarded against the insidious policy the State is now pursuing, and which all the States of Europe, so far as we can see, are bent on pursuing,—the policy of confounding all the great distinctions between truth and error, treating religion as a mere matter of opinion, and seeking to make it the slave of State power and influence. (Hear, hear.) I am afraid I have detained this house too long. (No, no.) I have now only to call the attention of the Assembly to the position in which the matter of the Refusal of Sites now stands, in so far as the proceedings of the Committee are concerned. Other views of that question, and further information upon it, will immediately be laid before the house by members who have been visiting those districts of the country which are the scenes of the hardship and persecution occasioned by those refusals. Meanwhile, let it be distinctly understood, that, in so far as the proceedings of the Committee are concerned, we have made little or no way with site-refusing landlords; we

have made some way with public men in Parliament, and, I believe, with public opinion throughout the country at large; and I am, therefore, emboldened to hope, that, if the accumulated cases of site-refusing which this night will be brought under the attention of this house and the country—if these cases of hardship and oppression remain unredressed till the meeting of the next session of Parliament; and, if we shall then be obliged once more to address the Legislature on the subject, we shall not only have a cordial sympathy in the public mind of Scotland, England, and Ireland, to support us in our appeal, but that in the House of Parliament itself we might count upon powerful support. (Hear.) We are entitled to count on the support of her Majesty's Government, and on the support of the leading men of both sides of politics in both Houses of the Legislature. (Cheers.)

CHAPTER XVIII.

Mr. Begg—Skye—Northern Ministers—Dr. Candlish—Proposed Measure—Mr. Campbell, of Monzie—Orkney—Dr. Chalmers—Christian Liberality—Conclusion of the Assembly.

DR. BUCHANAN was followed by Mr. Begg, who had lately returned from a visit to those parts of the Highland districts, where the people had been most affected by the Refusal of Sites. Mr. Begg's speech was chiefly occupied with the narration of distinct and individual cases, where landlords were at issue with their tenants on the question at the present moment under our review.

The first case was that of Lord F——, in Aberdeenshire, whose letter, in answer to a petition for building a Free Church in the parish of Keig, seems to have met with little favour at the meeting. His Lordship stated that "from conscientious reasons," by which he, as the petitioners, must feel himself

bound, he could do nothing to advance a cause, which, on many grounds, he highly disapproved.

Mr. Begg then proceeded to describe the course of his own journey. Ardnamurchan, the property of Sir J— R—, was the first place of his personal observation, to which he referred without any detail in his speech, although he introduced a few notices on Mull and Uloa by the way. After making some geographical allusions to Ardnamurchan, he read Sir J—'s letter, mentioning the sole conditions on which he would permit a tent for public worship to be raised, and stating his continued and increased disapprobation of the Free Church proceedings. Having noticed the anxiety to hear the preaching of the Gospel evinced by the people in this neighbourhood, Mr. Begg continued the narrative of his course, and related the circumstances in which the members of the Free Church were placed on the estate of Mr. M—, of A—, of whom he spoke in no very gratified terms, as to his conduct on the matter in discussion between him and his tenants.

The island of Skye was the next locality to which Mr. Begg alluded. In reference to Skye, he spoke of Lord M— and of

Mr. M—— respectively, as proprietors of whom the members of the Free Church had reason to complain. He read a letter from the latter gentleman concerning a Catechist's house, as in this letter he expressed his general views concerning the Free Church.

The speaker then took a more extended line of address: spoke in high terms of the zeal and missionary spirit exhibited by the ministers of Northern Scotland; recommended the adoption of floating churches, as provisional means for enabling the people to meet for public worship in the insular districts of the country—for instance, at Kilmallie, Strontian, Ardnamurchan, and Skye—proposed the establishment of some Highland institution for training ministers, and ended by declaring his conviction of the benefits at large which might be expected from the Inverness Assembly, as held this year.

Dr. Candlish then rose, the third and last speaker on this question. He first alluded to Iona; stated that in that whole island there were “not more than two or three families who did not belong to the Free Church,” and complained that a site had there been refused in the most explicit terms. He then dwelt on the fact of its being undesirable for the

people to accept unfavourable sites ; and subsequently entered on the exposition of that course, in which it appeared to him that the practical duty of the members of the Free Church, under present circumstances, might be held to consist. His address here became very eloquent, energetic, and excited. He disclaimed, in the strongest terms, any expectation or hope that his own, or any other Church, would derive any benefit whatever from any proposed or existing connexion with the State. Thus he prepared the way for exhorting and directing his hearers to trust rather to their own efforts for maintaining and extending their Church, than to any prospects of regaining their cause, and of securing Parliamentary aid towards the attainment of those objects, for which they had now met together here. "And now," said he, "I come to the practical point."

Here I copy his language at full length, since it describes the course of proceeding, no doubt advisedly marked out by Dr. Candlish and his coadjutors, and which ought to be known and considered by all public men, as well as by the country at large.

"Let the Assembly, if it seem good to it, issue instructions to all those congregations which have been refused, immediately to renew

their applications to the proprietors in the most respectful terms. Let each congregation, in renewing its application for a site, report the same to the Committee upon that subject ; and let that Committee, in the name of the General Assembly, if they are satisfied of the propriety of the application, also make an application in favour of the same congregation. And then it seems improper that any great time should be allowed to elapse after such applications are made. Before the meeting of next Session of Parliament, the Committee ought to be in a condition to know exactly what applications of this sort have been favourably received, and what declined, or not answered at all ; and it seems essential that applications for sites should be applications for sites not for churches only, but for schools and manses, and schoolmasters' houses also. (Hear, hear.) It seems essential that application should be made for sites for all these objects now ; and in every instance in which any one is refused, it should be immediately reported to the Committee in Edinburgh. Now, I trust that in this way the Committee will be prepared to bring a clear and distinct Report on the subject to the Commission that meets in November. Let us give warning to the Church, and to all concerned, that we will

now wait till the Commission meets in November, to try the effect of their new applications to those proprietors who have refused sites. If these applications are refused, we will then be prepared to consider the propriety of another appeal to Parliament, and that in a more definite shape. I trust that if the time shall come that we must again go to Parliament, we will be enabled to go, not in the form of humble suitors merely, but with a Bill, in a definite shape, proposed to be passed ; and I know well, from his own assurance, that our noble friend, Mr. Fox Maule, is quite prepared to adopt such a course as this. Let us, then, distinctly give the country to understand, that, should justice not be done in the meantime, we cannot allow the Session of Parliament to begin without trying, at the very beginning of its sitting, to have a Bill introduced, which will at least bring before the whole country the exact object at which we aim, and to put in a tangible form our claims, which are so reasonable and so just."

The Assembly adjourned at half-past ten at night, until the forenoon of the ensuing day, when, on the Minutes of the previous day's proceedings being read, Mr. Campbell, of Monzie, made some remarks on the existence of

intermediate persons between the Scotch landlords and tenants, on whom he considered that the blame for refusing sites rested far more than on the landlords themselves. In the Report of his address, which now lies before me, he is represented as saying, “I wish it to go forth from this Assembly, that the proprietors generally are not represented in these site-refusals; but that it is their minions who are represented in these refusals; and that they have deferred their opinions to them, and have allowed interested and narrow-minded people to come between them and their Highland tenants.”

The Report of the Committee on the subject of the Manse Fund, towards building houses for the ministers of the Free Church, was brought forward by Mr. Guthrie, who had taken a most active and effectual part in the matter. He stated, “that the object of the Committee (appointed for this purpose), was to raise no fewer than seven-hundred Manses; for which purpose they had resolved to collect the sum of £150,000.” He dwelt on the zeal and alacrity with which large sums had already been subscribed for the purpose; making honourable mention of the City of Glasgow, and certainly delivered a speech which was at once most animating, amusing, and inspiring, as to the pros-

pects of success, in this new, arduous, and costly undertaking.

After a short speech of Dr. Candlish, the Report was approved of, and "the Assembly expressed their deep obligations to Mr. Guthrie, for the ability and zeal which he had displayed." Dr. Macdonald then explained in Gaelic, to the Gaelic-speaking part of the audience, the nature of those proceedings which had just taken place.

The spiritual condition of Orkney, and the Shetland isles, was then debated by a late eye-witness, and traveller in those localities. He mentioned, that the young women of Unst, one of those remote islands, had offered to give the "beautiful work of their hands," the Shetlands shawls, in the cause of the Free Church, instead of money, of which, they had little or none. The names also of some proprietors of that region were mentioned, as having given sites for churches, and being moreover willing, and prepared to give sites for Manses, ground for gardens, &c.

The Assembly adjourned at five o'clock, and commenced proceedings again at half-past six.

After a short address from Peter Jones, a North American Indian, and now a convert to Christianity, and an expression of sympathy

towards him, on the part of the assembly, through Mr. Campbell, of Monzie, the Report on the Sustentation Fund—or the Fund from which the annual support of the Free Church ministers had to be provided—was read in the presence of the assembly. On its conclusion, a veteran rose up to speak, of whom we may well say, that he has long been, and still is, the most distinguished of Scotland's living sons. Having said this, I need scarcely mention the name. That of Chalmers, probably, will recur to every mind.

The applause with which Dr. Chalmers was received was enthusiastic; and I can well imagine, on this his first, and also somewhat unexpected appearance* in the Assembly, the fulfilment of a passage in Virgil, though I am far from suggesting that the meeting was at all of that turbulent character, supposed in the Poet's illustration :—

Moribus ingenioque gravem si forte virum quem
Conspexere, silent, arrectisque auribus adstant.

His whole address was thoroughly characteristic of the speaker. It was, if I may coin a word, quite *Chalmerian*, both as to thought and expression.

* He had only arrived at Inverness the day before.

He first mentioned, that until the previous Saturday, he had determined to adhere to his resolution of not being present to take any part in this Assembly ; but that, since that time, he had been induced to alter his intention, in consequence of subsequent calls upon him, and subsequent representations made to him.

He then proceeded to show, how little dependence could be placed, (as available towards raising large and continued assistance for such a purpose, as the Sustentation Fund) on arousing speeches and addresses, whether from himself, or from others. "In point of fact," said he, "unless these addresses be followed up by something more, impulse will not secure the following it up. It is a plain, prosaic work, just that of each collector going round his district." Dr. Chalmers dwelt on this subject at considerable length, as a principle, which he desired strongly to impress on the minds of his audience. "The truth is then," he continued, "that public Assemblies hear with impulse, but the impression is dissipated on the morrow, and there is nothing of value. Some people say, 'This is the way to keep up the steam.' Now I must say, that my whole experience tells me, that, instead of its being the way to keep up the steam, it is the way to let out the steam. (Laughter.) It

just reminds me of those steam-boats, which let off the steam with a tremendous noise, when they come to a dead stand. In like manner, the ruffling and applause have just given me the impression, that it all evaporates in so many unproductive hurrahs, or comes out of the heads of the people with nothing more than tremendous sounds of pedestrian approbation."

The letter of requisition, calling on Dr. Chalmers to attend, had spoken of the Sustentation scheme, as the sheet-anchor of the Church's prosperity, both at home and abroad ; and had stated, that on this subject "much misapprehension and sluggishness (or remissness) prevails."

Dr. Chalmers first alluded to the misapprehensions on the question. And the first misapprehension to which he directed the attention of his hearers was, "that it was not a sacred, but a secular subject." On this he argued for some time. "There was an idea, that the Sustentation Fund was for the mere maintenance of the minister and his family. Now, I must say, that it is for the support, and benefit, and highest interests of the population of Scotland. A minister must live, no doubt ; but the great end of the fund is not to give a livelihood for the minister. That is of little consequence, when

compared with the guardianship, and guidance, and good condition of the sheep." Again, "We, in pleading for an increase in the contributions to the Sustentation Fund, are pleading for an extended application of the means of grace to those souls, who, without that application, would perish in thousands and tens of thousands, for lack of knowledge. Don't, therefore, look on this as a purely secular subject. It is a most sacred subject, and has all the character and soundness of the most spiritual, and missionary cause."

The second misapprehension, which the speaker combated, was that "of considering it wrong to ask any but the rich to contribute to this fund." His view of this subject was so clearly put, so original, so beautiful, and of such general application, that I am sure my readers will feel indebted to me for inserting a passage at full length, which in all probability expresses in the best language ever hitherto presented to their minds, the true scriptural view of this delicate subject. I say delicate, because I am sure it is often felt as such by all persons of delicate feeling, who have to do with the poor in these matters.

"Another misapprehension is, that it is wrong to ask any but the rich to contribute to this

fund. Now, I deny that, both on the ground of principle, and on the ground of sound Christian wisdom. The penny which the poor man gives may be of little value, estimated pecuniarily; but the principle which dictates the giving of a penny is of a high value, when estimated, not pecuniarily, but when estimated morally. (Hear, hear.) I have no idea of that sort of Christian ethics which tells me, that the mere circumstances of a man,—the mere indigence of his condition,—makes it impossible for him to realise one and all of those graces, which make up the perfect man in Christ the Lord; and I say, that he who refuses the poor man's penny, because it is of little worth, estimated pecuniarily, notwithstanding its high worth estimated morally—I say that that man, if he be a Minister of the Gospel, is obstructing the advances of the Gospel; he is fast obliterating one of the lineaments of the new creature in Jesus Christ, our Lord, and destroying his congregation. Call you that no infliction of a moral injury? Recollect our Saviour's estimation of the widow's mite. He said—this poor widow has cast in more than all the rich men have cast into the treasury. Are you to look on it as a matter of insignificance, because the money's worth is of little value, when its moral worth has been pronounced by

the highest of all authority, to have value that is transcendant? (Hear, hear, hear.) People reason thus—suppose that £100 a year is received from two wealthy individuals in a congregation, and suppose that an equal sum is received in small contributions, from five-hundred individuals, they are apt to attach most value to the first, to the disparagement of the small contributions. Now, pecuniarily they are the same; but morally and spiritually, the one is infinitely of higher importance than the other. By not giving your congregation an opportunity of contributing, you deprive them of an opportunity of exercising that principle, which forms one of the essential characteristics of the disciples of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. They are not required to give more than God has prospered them—that is the proportion. And when we see, that the penny of the poor widow was of so much value in the high count and reckoning of eternity, how can you refuse to tell your congregations their duty in this respect? You ought to tell them so, fearlessly and fully. They are the secular men, who attach so much importance to the £100, coming from two individuals, but who attach no value to its coming from two hundred individuals. (Hear, hear.) I want no extorted offering—the value of the offering con-

sists in its being given cheerfully. When people ask how much they should give, I say, I cannot tell arithmetically ; but I can answer you morally, and can supply the data on which your consciences can decide—give no more than God has given you.”

Having stated this general principle, Dr. Chalmers illustrated it by facts, and showed how much more abundant and permanent Christian and charitable collections would be, when depending on numerous and regular contributors, though small in amount, than when depending on occasional contributors, however munificent. He elucidated this point with much strength and clearness, putting it in many lights, and turning it over before his audience, so as to display, and commend it to their notice, as a matter of the utmost consequence. Indeed, he went so far as to imply, that through “thus connecting the Free Church with the homes and hearths of the great body of the people;” and by no other means could it be permanently maintained, or “perpetuated from one generation to another.”

Dr. Chalmers referred to the importance of interesting children in the same cause, and again repeating his warning, against trusting entirely to the rich, he said, “that he looked forward with clearness to a sum of £300,000, per annum,

which," to use his expression, "would land us in the glorious result of supplying the whole of Scotland with Christian ministrations, and providing for all the educational wants of the people." After disclaiming every thing like rebellion, radicalism, or political agitation, as betraying the principles of the Free Church, the Doctor represented the necessity of exertions to procure, and promote collections from rural and remote districts, as well as from towns, or localities approximating in character to towns; and exhorted the people not to "look on their own things," only even in spiritual matters, but also upon the things of others—commending a wide-spreading, and unselfish interest in the designs for which they were met together. He then again reverted to the spiritual and scriptural character of these efforts, and repelled the charge of secularity, as appertaining to them:—quoting the Scriptures, and apostolic example for his views. "I refer to the Apostle Paul: in the 1 Cor. viii.; 2 Cor. viii. ix. You will see what care he took of the churches! He was not deterred by the charge of the secularity from the outward business of the Church! What writing of letters—what attention to the interests of the Church! How much he had to do with the care and management of the Susten-

tation Fund !” After a few words upon endowments, he concluded his address with the expression of his testimony to the importance of the cause, for which he had been pleading, viz : an adequate popular endowment “ of the Free Church.” “ I feel that, humanly speaking, there lies upon you, in the subordinate capacity of God’s instrument, one of the greatest duties ever laid on the consciences, or put into the hands of any set of men. God has put it within your reach to replace those endowments, which have been most unrighteously wrested from our hands ; to replace those, so as not merely to indemnify the Church for her loss, but so as to strengthen her stakes, and lengthen her cords, that, under His ample canopy, no unprovided family in the land shall be left without the inestimable benefit of a sound and affluent Gospel ministry for themselves, and a pure scriptural education for their children.”

The Assembly was then engaged for a short time with the Report of the “ College Committee,” and adjourned at eleven o’clock.

Wednesday was the last day of meeting, and finished the week, during which the Assembly sat. After some short preliminary business, the consideration of the Highlands, and Islands, was again renewed ; mainly with the aim of

ascertaining the best and the speediest means of supplying them with ministerial help, under present circumstances. On this subject, Dr. Candlish spoke at great length; reading a detail of practical measures proposed for attaining the desired end. After a few remarks from other speakers, the business, for which the Assembly had been convened, being now concluded, and the period for its sitting at an end, the Moderator delivered his concluding address. In it, he congratulated those assembled on the harmony which had prevailed, from the beginning to the end of their meeting—referred to the success granted by Almighty God, to the missionary efforts of the Free Church, in various quarters of the world—expressed a strong conviction, that legislative injustice had been perpetrated on their body,—spoke with much anticipation of good, in referring to the Schools and Colleges in view,—maintained the claim for the Free Church to be regarded as the Church of Scotland still—dwelt on the benefits which might be expected to accrue from this Inverness Assembly,—asserted the righteous and honourable position of the members of the Free Church,—exhorted his hearers to the exercise of thankfulness, humility, steadfastness of purpose, and other kindred graces; and ended with a cordial expression of

good-will, and acknowledgment, for all the love and kindness locally received by strangers, and visitors in the place, where he now spoke. “ It would rejoice us to have it in our power to make a return in kind ; but if it should not be the will of God that we should meet again on earth, I trust that we shall not fail to bear them on our minds, in our intercessions at the throne of grace. It will gladden our hearts to hear of their steadfastness in the good cause, in which we are embarked ; and our earnest wish, and prayer shall be, that, after having served God in their day and generation, they may be admitted into the enjoyment and service of God in Heaven.”

The Assembly was then concluded ; and after singing the 122nd Psalm, the Moderator dissolved it by pronouncing the blessing, and appointing it to meet at Edinburgh, on Thursday 21st of May, 1846.

CHAPTER XIX.

Summary—Thoughts on the Free Church—Mr. Sydow's Book—
The Free Church—Mr. Sydow's opinions—Future Legislation—
Free Church principles—Church and State—Scotch Tenets.

IN the last chapter I concluded my account of the memorable Inverness Assembly of 1845, and my analysis or summary of the whole proceedings, as well as of all the speeches of importance delivered on the occasion. It has been to me a work of no slight labour, having required the reading and annotation of between forty and fifty closely printed columns of a large sized newspaper. I do not the least regret the pains which I have taken on the subject ; but my feelings are very much of the contrary description, partly from the deeply interesting matter through which I have been led in the investigation, and still more from my conviction (shared, I know, by so many others) that in the Inverness meeting was condensed, centred, and exhibited, a body of prin-

ciples, and a course of action, in itself of no slight present interest, and which, with much probability, is destined to bear, not only on the religious and social affairs of Scotland, but also on those of England and Ireland, and perhaps on those of the whole Protestant world. My meaning is, that the Inverness Assembly represented, in a notable manner, the peculiar and distinctive marks of the Free Church, and that having an accurate account of the Inverness Assembly, you have in the most accessible form and compass, a view of the Free Church, both as to its present spirit, and as to its probable future career. But some one may say, Are the proceedings of the Free Church itself of any great, any lasting importance? Surely they are of the very utmost, and to support this opinion I shall neither quote the declarations of those by whom it is opposed, and who, by the strength, decision, and tone of their opposition, have manifested and embodied their convictions on the matter, either in the current of ephemeral, but not on that account, less effective, publications, or in works of a more laboured and permanent character. Neither, on the other hand, shall I quote from the statements and anticipations of those, who, either being members of, or favourable to, the Free Church, may be supposed likely

to take a one-sided view of the question, and to attach an imaginary, or, at all events, an exaggerated consequence to their own favourite object, especially if it be one wherein, either from their writings, or their acts in the cause, they may be considered as "*pars magna*" themselves. Of such testimony to the *importance* and *magnitude* of the Free Church question, as exhibited in Scotland at the present day, I shall *not* avail myself, for those reasons which I have suggested ; but the testimony of which I *shall* avail myself, is one of a very different and far more valuable nature. It is that of an individual qualified in an extraordinary manner to pronounce an unprejudiced, and, (if I may use a word too often mis-used at the present day) Catholic opinion ; one who, himself a foreigner, is thoroughly acquainted with our language and social state—one whose book is in every body's mouth, when an inquirer asks for the most trustworthy details on the late Secession, whether as to fact, whether as to law, or whether as to Christian principle ;—and one, finally, in whose work it is generally rumoured, that Royal interest has been shown in the highest places of our land. I need scarcely mention, at least for any reader who has taken any practical interest in the subject, that I allude to the work of the

Rev. Adolphus Sydow,* entitled "The Scottish Church Question," and published in the course of the year.

I therefore select one statement from his preface, and some others from the remarks introductory to his work. That from the preface is as follows :

"The events which have happened in the Scottish Church present, in the writer's opinion, most important and instructive objects of contemplation on this point (the relation between Church and State) to the Churchmen and Statesmen of Protestant Europe : and as he is desirous of doing his humble part to serve the common Protestant cause by spreading a knowledge of these events, to many of which he has been fortunate enough to be an eye-witness, the

* Mr. Sydow, according to the title page of his work, is "Minister of the United Evangelical Church of Prussia, and Chaplain to His Majesty's Court and Garrison at Potsdam." A few days after writing the above, in commendation of the value of his testimony, as to the point under our notice at the present moment, I met the following passage as to the capacity of German travellers to do justice to the subjects which they take up :—"The Germans, who quit their own country for travel—much fewer in number than English travellers, and with smaller means and appliances of every kind—do nevertheless carry with them certain conditions well fitted to successful research—an age sufficiently matured ; habits of labour, and moderate living ; great earnestness of purpose ; studies directed beforehand to the particular objects and course of travel," &c.—*Quarterly Review*, Sep. 1845. *Art.* Strzelecki on New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land.

writer ventures to offer to the English public this comprehensive and critical statement of the whole transaction."

I now add those statements, which I find in Mr. Sydow's Introductory Remarks, bearing precisely on the same points—I mean the importance, magnitude, and extensive relationships of the Free Church Question. He says, that, "from a simple point of Church administration, its sphere has grown to a question of constitutional principles, the settlement of which cannot be hoped, even from the wisest and most gifted administrations of the law. The only tribunal before which the question could now be peaceably solved, and the deep wounds healed that have been inflicted on Scotland, is that of the enlightened legislator, the wise and high-minded Christian statesman."

Again:—"In Scotland matters have stood, and do stand, in a position quite different from that in other Protestant countries; different, not as has been so frequently and unfairly objected, because of the wilful obstinacy of a Puritanical zealotism; not because of a crafty agitation striving to use, for foreign and selfish purposes, the deep love which every Scotchman entertains for his Church; nor because of the systematic operation of an ambitious and power-

loving clergy ; but different, because of statute laws and liberties of the Church, acknowledged by the State itself. Scotland is that spot on earth where Providence has introduced into history the germs of sound principles in the relations of Church and State, and the English Government has received from the hand of God the honour and the conditions to give free action to these principles. The spirit of the Scotch Church, which has come forth out of all its conflicts since the Reformation, one and the same, uncovered and untrammelled, is no vague unknown thing, against which the State has always to be suspiciously on its guard ; on the contrary, it is plain and intelligible to any one acquainted with her history."

One quotation more. After an hypothesis, which it is not requisite to introduce here, the author proceeds :—

" If, however, the Free Presbytery Church of Scotland should prove in reality to be the Church of the nation, and it is the author's decided opinion that she will do so ; and, if the present establishment should prove to be merely the sediment remaining after the process of internal fermentation, then the Secessionists will appear the conscientious supporters of principles, the hostility to which posterity will

never be able to comprehend—principles that determine the form of the future Protestant world, and of which the free and clear development in the national life can, in the author's opinion, prove alike to Church and State the harbinger of health and peace. Believing, as the author does, that this question of the Church of Scotland must extend, both on account of the principles involved in it, and through its inevitable consequences, beyond the limits of the present time, and beyond the boundaries of Scotland, how should he feel other than diffident, when he considers the magnitude of the task he has undertaken ?”

Now when it is considered that this is the language of a highly gifted Protestant minister—of one removed from all personal and party bias, himself an eye-witness of the late Scottish movement, and one who has gone deeply and accurately into the subject in its various aspects—religious, historical, political, and social—such a testimony ought to have, and must have, much weight with all unprejudiced and thoughtful men. I believe that legislators must very soon face this question, and that not partially, but in full—that it will be forced upon them ere long, as demanding their attention and decision in tones which must be heard. But I would rather

commend the subject to their notice, as one to which they should apply their minds with no slight care, diligence, and surrender of prejudice, if they would desire to bring the relationship of Church and State in Scotland into harmony again. For it must ever be remembered that the Scotch, as members of the recent secession, repudiate the notion of being classed, either in name or as to position, with Dissenters and Voluntaries, (to use a title of recent application) and earnestly maintain that they are not Dissenters, but essentially the Church of Scotland, according to its original and constitutional formation.

They maintain most strongly that all the recent decisions against them have been given, not in conformity to, but in spite of their true and legitimate claims.* Therefore, the legislature must not think that it is well rid of some troublesome remonstrants, in consequence of this secession—that it will hear no more of them

* Mr. Sydow's testimony on this point is very curious. I extract it from the introductory remarks to his work, on which I have spoken above. He says there :—" As long as the author was in these kingdoms, he took the deepest interest in the Scottish Church question. He sided from the first with that party, with whom he thought the right to reside, both rationally and spiritually; with the men on that side he has in spirit both suffered and striven; but it was not until a few months ago (he writes in July 1843) that he could come unto a clear conviction as to whether or not they

—that, like the Baptists, or Wesleyans, or any other sect of Separatists from the established Church of England and Ireland, the Free Church will be satisfied with a separate existence of its own, such as it at present holds. I say that the Legislature must not lay this flattering unction to itself. No! Supposing that there should be no more difficulty as to Refusal of Sites—supposing them granted, wherever called for—supposing this “root of bitterness” eradicated, and this “pricking thorn” removed—let it not be imagined that the Free Church will, in regard to the State, pursue its own distinct orbit, acting on the non-interference principle, and be unheard of any more except in its own conventicles—except among the moors, the mountains, and the isles of its enthusiastic votaries. No! This would be utterly inconsistent with the views of duty which have been held, and with the determination which has been shown in the Scotch Church by all its true, faithful, and devoted adherents since the Reformation.

were legally and formally right.” After describing his view at that period, he continues thus: “Since that time he has been forced to abandon this view of the matter, and ventures, in the following observations, to realize the position that, all things taken together, the Free Presbytery Church of Scotland is legally, as well as actually, in the right.”

They have never shown the least disposition to be satisfied with any such position,* and my firm belief is, that there is not the smallest disposition, or the smallest intention of the Free Church in general to be so satisfied now.

We cannot open any book containing any declaration of their principles—ay, principles strongly and constantly inculcated—without meeting passages which state in the plainest terms that they deem it the absolute duty of nations and rulers, in their national and in their official character, to uphold and maintain the Church; and that the Church would be sinning against God itself, and the whole country, were it to descend from its claim of close connection with the State; while at the same time it must

* One of the most striking characteristics of the present movement is the determined adherence of the members of the Free Church to the claim of being the true, constitutional Church of Scotland. I copy from among many statements on this subject which I have before me, one passage alone, which I find in the Pastoral Address of the General Assembly, met at Edinburgh in 1845, to the people under their charge: “For ourselves we have not removed the ancient landmarks which our fathers have set; we stand upon the old paths; we claim, indeed, no apostolic succession for a clerical order invested with priestly power; but, blessing God for the continued existence of a standing Ministry among us, perpetuated from age to age by the call of His Spirit, and the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery, we humbly and devoutly trace an unbroken descent from the preachers of God’s word and their faithful people, who, nearly three centuries ago, came out of Popish Babylon in our land.’

no less strongly maintain that this connection should be one, placed on such a basis as to leave the Church free and unfettered, independent of the State in all spiritual matters, and (as the Scotch would term it) subject to the rule and headship of the Lord Jesus Christ, exclusively and alone. When these two things are irreconcilable, then it is maintained by the adherents of the Free Church, that they must choose the least of two evils, which in their opinion is this—to secede and take a position, until matters are rightly arranged, altogether unconnected with the State. On this second principle they deem themselves right in their present course, or more fully to express it ;

“ In pursuance of these principles the Church of Scotland consider that the State, in its ruling capacity, is bound to establish the Church of Christ in its dominions, not from motives of human expediency, but by divine appointment ; and on the other hand, that the Church of Christ is bound in conscience to take up the position of an establishment, if offered to her. She is obliged to put herself in Christian communication and co-operation with the State, but she is not allowed to do so under conditions which would injure the spiritual rights of her children,

even were she offered in return the most dazzling earthly advantages.”

Now, I am well aware how difficult it is for Englishmen — whether Episcopalians or Dissenters, or to whatsoever body they belong—to apprehend speedily or grasp firmly these feelings and convictions entertained in Scotland.* But the effort should be made, and when once made, even with a certain measure of success, the present state of the Scotch Free Church will appear as a living exposition of these principles, and much assistance will be gained towards a due anticipation of its probable future career.

* “The matter is one purely Scotch, and as the Scotch Church occupies a peculiar position in the Protestant world, the whole affair must be treated on its own ground. All abstract theories, all transference of English views and theories applied to it can only mislead.”—*Mr. Sydenham*.

CHAPTER XX.

Politics—Free Church Leaders—Free Church prospects—Religion and Politics—Erroneous expectations—Power of Religion—A word to the Clergy—Our position—Church and State—Hypothetical cases—Church and State—Our Duty.

IN what I have said through the course of these few latter pages, my thoughts have been directed in no slight measure to those new and peculiar responsibilities, in which the Legislators of Great Britain are now placed by the Secession in Scotland, or, perhaps I may more accurately say, that I have written with an eye directed in some measure to those circumstances, which, in all likelihood, will meet them ere long—to those calls on the legislative bodies of our land, which will, if I mistake not, sound ere long from the north—to facts which will, assuredly, have a strong influence on Scotch elections, therefore on parliamentary majorities, therefore on ministries, therefore on all which concerns the interests of Great Britain.

And I may add here that the leaders in this movement—the men who have given to it its first early impetus, and will undoubtedly stamp the impress of their character and aims on its future career—are no ordinary men. They are men, not only sound and strong in the principles of the Gospel, but men of talent, of eloquence, of business-like habits; and many of them are gifted with that heartiness of spirit and address, which tell so much on the people at large in all countries, and at all times. This spirit was eminently conspicuous both in Luther and Knox—we know with how much influence, both as accompanying and following their ministry—and this spirit pervades a large number of the Free Church Ministers of Scotland. Stiffness and formality are not in favour among them. Besides this, they are themselves most hopeful and most confident. On this point I copy a passage from the “Pastoral Address of the General Assembly, met at Edinburgh this year, to the People under their charge.” “We have union among ourselves, and much acceptance with others; tranquillity at home, and a general peace abroad; the hearts of our countrymen, to a great extent, with us; the eyes of foreign Christians favourably turned towards us; and the field of the world all before us.

By the adherence of all our Missionaries to the Jews and to the Gentiles, we have been enabled to occupy, as before, all our stations ; and new missions have been undertaken by us in India, at the Cape, in Africa, and at Constantinople. The movement at home has reached all the Colonies, stirring every where the hearts of our expatriated countrymen ; and through our various settlements on the shores of the Mediterranean we are becoming more and more interested in the ominous signs that hang over that central region of the earth, comprising the seats of the Italian and the Turkish empires, and the Land of Israel. The intercourse also, which has been opened with foreign Churches ; the letters which are passing between them and us ; the visits of their gifted and goodly men—worthy to emulate, as well as to record the deeds of the Reformation—all conspire to mix us up as a Church with the general interests of universal Christendom, more than we have been for ages past ; and, in spite of our insular seclusion, our feebleness as regards all the elements of worldly influence, and the long reign of a selfish and exclusive deadness among us, we find ourselves forced into the midst of whatever is warm, and generous, and energetic in the evangelical brotherhood of all nations.”

Such is the spirit, the confidence, and prospects entertained by the Free Church. .

And now, as a conclusion to this call on statesmen, and on the public at large, for their increased and sustained attention to the subject of these remarks, I would add, that they are made by one who is well aware that in these matters, according to the sure declaration of the preacher, "The thing that hath been, it is that which shall be."—Ecc. I, 9. Every religious movement, of which history tells—if not the work of the politician—if not the *εργον* *ἑαυτου* dear to him, as his own production and work—has been by him, *as a politician*, at first undervalued and despised. I believe that this may be laid down without an exception to the rule. On the rise of every such movement, the word among mere politicians has been, "It will blow over." "The excitement will pass away for want of leaders." "Men won't give up their benefices," and so forth. Now all this is quite natural to men who have not themselves experienced the power of religious feeling. Religion is not to them the strong, pre-eminent, all-swaying motive, which it is to those who are in a different condition, as under that influence in spirit and in truth. Hence politicians are at first always incredulous as to the

progress, extent, importance, and permanency of all religious movements. When these movements have reached a certain maturity; when they begin to appear as the common topics of earnest conversation; when they begin to occupy the columns of newspapers; still more, when the subject is broached in legislative assemblies, and above all, when it forces itself on public notice by its bearings on political events, then the movement must be noticed; the quaking and uncertain soil under the nation's feet must be recognized; the movement has taken its historical and social place in the annals of his country, and perhaps of the world at large. To use a phrase of modern acceptance, it is now "*un fait accompli*." Without going further back in illustration of these remarks, I shall only observe, that such has undoubtedly been the course of events in regard to that mischievous and most extensive contagion, which has crept "*per incautum vulgus*," whether lay or clerical, from Oxford—that very place which ought to have been the source of spiritual health and strength to the Church and State of Great Britain at large.

There was at first great incredulity as to the future progress and importance of that movement, until it forced itself in various ways on

the notice of the country. All these arose from ignorance and incredulity as to the power of the religious sense, whether wrongly or rightly directed. The same incredulity was evident, as to the late Free Church movement in Scotland. Some, much skilled in political affairs, thought but little of it, and considered it a mere ephemeral excitement, worthy of no more notice than some parochial complaints against a new clergyman in a remote village, or any obscure country towns. Others said it was nothing more than the stir of a few enthusiastic or democratic ministers—fanatical in their creed, and ambitious of distinction and rule, each in his petty sphere. Others said that the current would flow by. Those who hold this opinion, might not inaptly be sketched as the rustics waiting and looking on *dum defluat amnis*. Others imagined that, at the last moment of decision—at the turning point, or crisis—many would abandon their professed intention, and remain *in* instead of going *out*. And many thought that, though the ministers might secede, they would secede without flocks—that a few distinguished and eloquent men might perhaps secure congregations, but that any general adhesion to the Free Church ministers in general was merely a chimera, a thing for which there was neither

adequate zeal, adequate decision of purpose, adequate perseverance, adequate organization, or, still less, adequate pecuniary funds. No doubt, these anticipations—or rather these negative and privative ideas, regarding the strength and life of the measure, are now gone, “vanished in air,” on the part of all except that class—of course rare and isolated, who absolutely shut their eyes to facts, however stiff and stubborn. However, that such views did most extensively prevail, until *facts* positively drove *fancies* out of the field, cannot be denied. And present results, as embodied in the progress of the Free Church of Scotland, stand now in the most extraordinary contrast to former anticipations on the subject—whether whispered in cabinets, or declared in Houses of Parliament, or held and asserted, as matters of individual belief. Wise are they who learn experience from such lessons! Wise are they, who, though not exemplifying in themselves the power of religion, nor professing so to do, learn that there is a power in it over others—over “multitudes which no man can number”—which, in the midst of much imperfection, and much error, live under its influence, labour for it as the chief aim of their life, would lay down for it life, possessions, all things! Oh! when will men believe

in this reality, and act on such belief? "In regard to the Church in all its branches, let Statesmen make of it what they may—they must lay their account with having something more than a mere strife of opposing wills to manage. For it is high time they should know, that, however Christians may be divided among themselves, as to what the Church is, they all, or nearly all, hold it to be a divine ordinance. Let its government be Prelatic, Presbyterian, or Congregational—and be its ministry hereditary, patronate, or elective—still, the almost universal impression among religious men is, that a visible Church-fellowship and order is the result, not of voluntary association, but of divine appointment. And the sooner our rulers become thoroughly aware that they have this element to deal with, the better for themselves and the country."*

I would now more especially speak with an eye to my brethren, the clergy of our land. It appears to me that the late and current proceedings in the Scotch Church would at all times be of importance to us, in our official character of watchmen, that they are specially important to us as exhibited just at the present period. Therefore I would venture to suggest that they

* North British Review, No. VII., p. 259.

demand from us the most serious attention, if we would fulfil our Christian obligation of “discerning the signs of the times,” as well as giving “good heed” to all which concerns the Church, according to the due measure and proportion which each similar event, or similar proceeding claims. I will now take it for granted that the late secession in Scotland is an observable and important movement of our times, whether as to its principles, as to its progress, or as to its adherents. Now, whether its adherents are right or wrong in their separation from the Established Church in their land, is a matter which by no means touches my intended argument. All I would lay down as my statement, is this: That, as ministers of the Established Church of England at the present day, we should watch the whole matter, as to its origin, and as to its course; as to its transiency or permanency; as to its failure or success; in a word, as to God’s dealings in the matter, so far as they are apparent to us, and can be ascertained by impartial, unprejudicial and conscientious attention. And the reasons on which I ground my statement in relation to this call of duty, are these: *first*, that in every church throughout Christendom, connected with the State, there is always a liability to its being placed in circumstances, as

to their general outline, resembling those circumstances in which the Free Church deems itself to have been placed at the time of the late disruption; and, *secondly*, that in these “perilous times,” our individual and personal condition, if faithful ministers of Christ, and determined, each one for himself, to do nothing adverse to the principles of Scripture and our Church, on account of human authority, whatever shape it may take—is not, at the present time, so remote in its similitude from that in which the Scotch seceders were, ere their late separation, as to exempt us from paying most accurate attention to their case and conduct, as of possible, perhaps some would say, of not unlikely application to ourselves.

Referring to the first case, or hypothesis, of those two which I have laid down, I would observe, as a preliminary statement, that it is perfectly consistent with the strongest attachment to our Church in its present form, and with a keen appreciation of the benefits conferred mutually on one another, through the connection of Church and State, to bear at the same time in mind that the State *may* so act as to make it the duty of the Church to sever the connection, at all events provisionally—I mean until the period arrives of more befitting conduct on the

part of the State. It is not wise to keep this fact out of view, to blink the question, to let such a predicament come upon us unawares, and least of all, to raise an outcry against those who point out this liability, as if there was on their part any disregard of sound Church and State principles, or any laxity in their estimation of the very closest union between the Church and State. As well might you charge the general of an army with want of zeal in the cause of his country, or with an indifferent opinion of the value and capacity of the troops under his command, because in arranging the battle field, he arranges among other matters a line and plan of retreat, should it prove needful, that so he may preserve his army for combats and victory once more. I believe it an axiom that no able general will ever leave this undone.

But I would go a little further into details, and instance a few circumstances, which, if brought to bear by the State on the faithful members of the English and Irish Church, would rightly summon them to “come out and be separate”—would justify the ancient appeal, “To your tents, O Israel.” Let us then hypothetically put this case, viz :—That the time might arrive when, either to please some political party, or under some pretext of a mere secular character, or for

any similar causes, (of which a multitude may be readily imagined by any thinking mind), the State should forbid the assembly of her citizens for public worship, or prescribe limits in the matter, unscriptural in their character ; or, let us suppose that in the ruling and legislative body such false doctrine should prevail as to originate the public issue of enactments, which would tend to establish false doctrine in the Church ; or, let us suppose that any measures should emanate from the same quarter, ordering the general adoption of Popish rites and ceremonies through the length and breadth of the land. What in such a case would the duty of the Church be ? Undoubtedly, at once to protest against such proceedings ; and if such protest should avail nothing, to throw off boldly all connection with the State—abandon its honours and emoluments—reject that influence, salutary at other times, but which, in such a case, could only be retained by the dereliction of principle—and cast itself heartily and freely on the affections and sympathy of the people for support and continuance. Now I repeat that this is a crisis to which every national Church is liable at all times, if faithful to its Master in Heaven, if worthy of the name of a true branch of Christ's Church, and not a mere set of time-

serving Erastian men. But while any Church—*i. e.* any national Church—is at all times exposed to this liability, it is not at all times in the power of a Church to see a measure of decided and complete separation, springing from this general principle, embodied and enacted in their own very day. Observe, I say, *springing from the general principle*, because I pass no opinion on the propriety of its application in the case before us. It is not at all times in the power of a Church to see in another part of the realm, such a sight as that of a numerous, and powerful body, influenced by feelings and opinions similar to those which I have just noticed—in a word, to have realized and exemplified before its own eyes a measure of which any probability exists as to its being requisite elsewhere. I do not here stop to calculate the danger, for that has nothing to do with the abstract view of the question, but at present I merely repeat that the English Church is liable to such a position as that in which the Scotch Church has lately been placed. More than this, I desire not—more than this, I attempt not to prove; and will but add, as the deduction, that, since the proceedings of the Free Church are by the permission and appointment of God, clearly set before us; since in our day and generation an event has taken place, which I do not say is,

or *shall be*, but *may be* of the utmost personal consequence, as a type and example of that, which we ourselves may have to endure and do ; and since a diligent attention to the subject cannot of itself involve any mischief, as an act of commission, while inattention to it may involve mischief and loss, as an act of omission—since these views seem to me of an unanswerable character, I would most seriously lay the question before the whole body of my ministerial brethren in this land, as one which they should not neglect, but mark, watch, and study with diligence, and zeal.

CHAPTER XXI.

Future Legislation—An Hypothesis—Late heresies—Perils of our day—Supposed conflict—A late conflict—An alternative—Need of watchfulness—Scottish inquiries—Congé d'Elire—Church and State.

FOLLOWING up the last chapter, I would say that the Legislature should know that the subject has occupied the attention of the English and Irish Church—should know, especially in these days, when so much attention is attached to precedents, that in case of a vital dispute with the Church, her condition must not be viewed as resourceless, any more than the Church of Scotland has proved so to be—nay more, should give due attention to the consideration that, as so large a body of the people of Scotland has been willing to take part with the seceding ministers, so might it be with a vast proportion of the people of England, at a similar summons, and in a similar predicament. It is well that these things should be brought into prominent notice, especially at a time like

this, when, in the great seats of Legislative authority, there exists such an heterogeneous admixture of creeds and parties, all with equal power (under our present constitution) of legislating for the Established or Protestant Church in our land. Under these circumstances, the members of our Protestant Established Church are well and assuredly entitled—nay, called upon as a matter of conscientious duty, not only to exercise all watchfulness and holy jealousy in these matters, but also to take all legitimate advantage of each circumstance connected with the times, available in their cause without any sacrifice of principle, duty, and integrity. I believe that the Church, as established in England and Ireland, may derive much advantage from the fact of the Scotch Church Secession—if duly known, noted, and brought into view—as a kind of warning and precedent, in behalf of the Church, should any vital controversy with the State arise in this land. We know not how soon such an hypothesis might become an actual and realized event at a period like the present, when so many an hypothesis becomes an embodied fact, with a speed and strange maturity unparalleled in former days. I call to mind one fact alone—the rise and progress of Popery among

the clergy of our Protestant Church, and the upper classes of society in our land.

Having now spoken of the duty which would attach itself to the Established Church of the United Kingdom of England and Ireland at large, under certain hypothetical circumstances, I come, secondly, to another point of deep and pressing interest to a large portion of its clerical, as well as of its lay members. I would now endeavour to place the rise and progress of the Free Church in Scotland before the eyes of a very numerous body of holy and devoted servants of the Lord Jesus Christ in our country, both clerical and lay, as representing a certain course of action, which, in its principle and outline, might be needful for them to adopt, under circumstances quite of a different character to those which have just occupied our notice. And the thought, the probability, or the possibility of these circumstances does not appear to arise (as in the case which we have lately reviewed) from any condition, generally or universally existing wherever there is a connexion between the Church and State, but rather from the peculiar circumstances of our day and generation—rather from the observation and experience of danger from within the Church than from

without its pale. I need scarcely say that I would now peculiarly address myself to those members of the church, whether clerical or lay, who look with keen hatred and dread on all “modified Popery”—on all approximation to Romish doctrine, Romish ceremonies, and Romish practices in general; who lament over the spread of that old leaven among us, which some had vainly hoped to be thoroughly purged out; who are filled with alarm at each new notice of conversion to Popery; who are determined to resist to the utmost in their power, every interference with our Church in its Protestant character, and, however humble their position may be, to act with boldness and decision, as opportunity occurs, and manfully to fight, under Christ’s banner, against every measure having any tendency, or even an appearance of a tendency towards Rome, from whatsoever quarter the effort to introduce it, or to enforce it, may come. God be praised, the number of those who thus feel, and of those who are prepared thus to act, is as large in our land, as it is devoted to their high and holy aim. Were it not to speak humanly, woe to our country! Were it not woe to England’s* renown, as the champion

* Some persons determined on saying “Peace—Peace” to the end, whatever our ecclesiastical condition may be, whatever emer-

of scriptural truth throughout the wide world ! Let me therefore state a case by no means impossible : for the saying of Scripture is, “ The thing that hath been, it is that which shall be ; and that which is done is that which shall be done.” (Eccles. i, 9). Suppose the time to come

gencies may arise, and whatever perils may environ us, will, of course, consider these remarks overstrained. For that I am perfectly prepared. A writer may perhaps now say this with more safety to his character in general estimation than he could have done at any period within the memory of the present generation, or of some generations which have passed away. Men, the most sober-minded and moderate in spirit, are now seriously affected and alarmed on this matter, and hesitate not to express their anxiety and opinion of our position, as a Protestant nation, with a Protestant Established Church. I see in “The Times” of this day, November 4th, (at which period I add this note) that the late Bishop of Oxford, in his reply to a Farewell address from the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of that See, speaks on our present condition in language, which, as coming from one, who from his tone and spirit is by no means likely to speak in any exaggerated terms, must arrest attention. He there says, “I feel it due to us both,” (himself and the Clergy addressed) “that my affectionate farewell be mingled with one word of earnest exhortation, suggested by the events in the midst of which I leave you. We part at a time when heavier grief and scandal have fallen on our Church than she has known for many generations, and they who have wounded her have been those whom she has nurtured from her youth up.” Such is our condition acknowledged and pointed out by his lordship on this public occasion, in words which of course traverse the whole country, as the expression of episcopal judgment—solemn, deliberate, and formed at that very place, which, instead of being, as it should have been, the fountain of life and truth for England, has proved of late a very fountain of spiritual poison and bitterness, whence the noxious stream

“In patriam populumque fluxit.”

when some able and acute Prelate, occupying, from the active government of his diocese, from his powers in debate, and from various other causes, a commanding position in the Church, should take up the idea that there were many mistakes and deficiencies in that form and character of our public worship which we of this generation have been accustomed to all our lives, and which has prevailed beyond the memory of the oldest inhabitant in our land ! Suppose that such a Prelate should mark his time wisely, according to the “wisdom of this world,” and, having first exerted himself in single combat against some of his clergy, who were totally opposed to his views (so as absolutely to drive them out of their churches, and into a state of separation for which he himself would surely be responsible) should then consider that his time was come for bringing his plans, with one simultaneous effort, to bear on his whole diocese ! Suppose him well aware that he might fail in his scheme—well aware that he might find the popular and Protestant feeling too strong for him—his clergy not prepared to obey him, as a “lord over God’s heritage,” and the ruling powers of the land unwilling to support him in the crisis and excitement to which he might bring his country, from one end to the other, but never-

theless so filled with a notion of his own authority, so sanguine of being able to carry out his own design, and so eager to grasp at once that mighty influence, both in Church and State, which would certainly be his, if successful in his scheme, as to make the attempt.

Suppose him willing and prepared to run all risks, to play a very doubtful game, to hazard a great stake. Now suppose, that just at the moment, which seemed most expedient in his eyes, to issue his edict,—bidding all his clergy to apparel, and conduct themselves in Church after a certain fashion, distasteful to, and dreaded by the great body of Protestant worshippers of England; and suppose him successful, (I hesitate not to say, that he, who literally did act thus, was unsuccessful,) I say, suppose him successful in his measures, what would be the immediate result? There can be no doubt, alas! that others in the same station, not bold, or daring enough themselves to originate, or execute such a measure as his, but ready to follow in his steps, and reap the fruits of his victory, would immediately act the same part in their respective spheres of authority. And they would be much aided and abetted, or perhaps, I should speak more accurately in saying, “forced onward,” by a large number of their

clergy, strongly imbued with the Tractarian bias, and openly declaring their tenets, whenever opportunity occurs, while others of the same views, but from many causes more backward in declaring their sentiments, would rise up, like Roderick Dhu's men, to fight the same battle.

I, for one, fully believe that the country was only saved from such a fatal predicament by the spirit, energy, and resolution of the laity in that southern diocese, where the attempt was made. I, for one, waited with extreme anxiety the result of that struggle. I considered it a crisis of the most momentous kind; and certainly could not foresee on which side the victory would lie: whether the Episcopal mandate, or whether the sound Protestant feeling of England would finally gain the day. Happily for the Established Church of these realms, the latter was victorious. Had it not been so, in all probability, there would have been, ere this, a Secession in England too; a Secession including thousands of her most devoted ministers, millions of her laity. For, as I have hinted before, a vast amount of ecclesiastical power would in all probability have been speedily exercised in behalf of the new and objectionable measures, and all those who set their faces

against the exercise of this power would have been subjected to censure and depression ; yes, if defenceless as Curates, perhaps do something of a still more stringent character. Some would have left our Church, reading *Ichabod* on its banner, and unwilling any longer to remain united to a body which had taken “ the mark of the beast on its hand, and on its forehead ;” others would have been forced out, and multitudes among the laity would have left the Churches of their fathers “ to the owls and the bats,” rather than see Popish ceremonies once more acted there, and hear Popish doctrine sounding from those pulpits, whence they had been wont to hear the pure Gospel of Christ, and doctrines which a true Protestant could welcome with delight, as being the doctrines of God’s word. From such an alternative we have been, for a time, and through God’s mercy delivered.

There is now a lull in the storm, with which the Reformed tenets, and the simple forms of worship, prevailing in our land, as in accordance with those tenets, have been so fiercely, and insidiously assailed in these latter days. But let England be on the watch, as future assaults may prove more successful than those which are past. We too, may witness in this matter, much “ evil to come.” Many may yet have to come out and

be separate from all appearance of countenancing evil in the body to which they belong. We have not yet arrived in the "kingdom which cannot be moved." Many anticipate a sifting and shaking period for our Church. They say, if such things have occurred as have been witnessed in the last ten years; if the streams of theological truth have been marred at the fountain-head, and Romish doctrine, and Romish ceremonies have been so widely spread in our land,—and if the rulers of our Church and State have not discovered, or, at all events, have not applied any measures of sufficient strength to put a stop to these ecclesiastical, and spiritual delinquencies, so that much doctrine, and many practices of Romish tendency are vigorous and rife in the churches of our land—they only ask as reasonable men, what may not happen in the next ten, or twenty years? And should the time arrive, that principles, such as those to which I now allude, should imbue the higher powers of our Church, and such a large body of the clergy, as to nullify and silence the voice of Christ's faithful witnesses, and true ministers—should the people of our land be largely, and systematically deprived of evangelical truth, then,* with-

* M. Sydow, after mentioning the circumstances under which the Seceders acted, and that predicament, in which they were

out any forfeiture of ecclesiastical position, farther than that of provisional secession, the same event must occur in England, as has already taken place in Scotland. Therefore let us watch with careful eye God's dealings with his Church in various lands ; and while we would go on in the daily and active performance of our duty, as faithful members of the Protestant Church established among us, let us not indulge in dreams of fancied security, but let us act as watchmen upon its walls, while we would heartily say of our noble, and ecclesiastical constitution : "*Esto perpetua*" — "*avi numerentur avorum,*" in the line of its spiritual sons, from one generation to another ; still, as taught by the strange and enforced experience of our day, let us be ready and prepared for the storm and the blast, as well as for the sunshine and the calm ; and in this spirit, let us diligently note the career of Scotland's Free Church, that it may be as a well-marked chart for ourselves, should we ever have to quit the stiller waters where we now

lately placed, adds the following brief and simple statement : " Should it ever happen—an event which may not be impossible—that certain principles now entertained by a large, influential, and learned portion of the English Clergy should be carried to such a point, that the English Evangelical party should feel compelled to leave the Establishment, without thereby ceasing to be Episcopalian, a similar state of things would ensue in England."—(*Scottish Church Question*, p. 29.

sail in comparative quietness, and have like her, to navigate with Jesus Christ alone, as the pillar of fire by night, some new and untried sea.

It is singular that the following question is now constantly put to English clergymen, when travelling in Scotland, and expressing any interest in matters of religion, as affected by the main questions of our day. “Do you think there will be any Secession in the Established Church of England?” and the same current notion is sometimes expressed in a still more startling way, as if it was thought in that country that such a crisis must come before long, and that it was nothing but a question of time. “When do you think that there will be a Free Church in England?” My answer usually was, that her ministers and people were at present perfectly free to serve God according to the Gospel of Christ; that we, as ministers, were not subject to any* obligations, inconsistent

* I may briefly observe here, (although the subject will hereafter occupy more full investigation) that the obligation of late enforced by the State from ministers, as members of the Presbytery, to ordain men considered unfit by them, to certain definite charges, was felt, as perhaps, the strongest grievance,—the heaviest burden on their conscience, by many who have now, from this and other reasons, joined the Free Church. The Episcopal clergy generally are under no such obligation; and I have more than once heard this fact mentioned, as one which obviates a very considerable portion of difficulties, under which the Scotch Clergy, as

with our faithfulness to God ; and that English Churchmen, as a body, whether ministers or lay members of that body, felt none of those

individuals, were placed, and from which we are exempt, at least, speaking generally. I cannot recal any circumstances under which any of the Clergy of the Established Church of Great Britain and Ireland, (I do not refer to the Bishops, although perhaps the same observation would equally apply to them) are ever placed so as to subject them to similar responsibility, except those which ensue on the promulgation of a *congé d'élire* to the Dean and Chapter of a Cathedral, when a Bishop is appointed by the Crown to any vacant See.

This case is, however, so important, that a short statement on the subject may not be uninteresting to my readers. My information, legally speaking, is derived from the work, which I believe to be the very best authority on the subject. "I mean Burn's Ecclesiastical Law. Ninth Edition, 1842."

A history is there introduced, relative to the "form and manner of making and consecrating Archbishops, and Bishops," in which the subject is carried down from the earliest times of Christianity to the 25th of Henry VIII. ch. xx. v. iii., at which period I take up the matter; that being the Act, in which the appointment of Archbishops and Bishops still depends in our land. I must just observe, that this statute was virtually repealed, by the 1st of Edward VI. ch. II. ; but this is of no consequence, as to use the words of Burn's, the latter statute was afterwards repealed, and the matter was brought back again, and still resteth upon the statute of the 25th Henry VIII. ch. xx. as hereafter followeth :—

7. When a Bishop dies, or is translated, the Dean and Chapter certify the King thereof in chancery, and pray leave of the King to make election.

8. Upon which, it is enacted, by the 25th Henry VIII. ch. xx. 3, 4 ; "that at every avoidance of any Archbishopric, or Bishopric, the King may grant to the Dean and Chapter a licence under the great seal, as of old time hath been accustomed, to proceed to election of an Archbishop or Bishop."

Which licence is called in French, *congé d'élire*, that is, leave to choose.

objections as to the ecclesiastical authority of the Sovereign, and State, which seems, in a national and hereditary manner, engrained in the Scot-

9. And with the licence, a letter missive, containing the name of the person which they shall elect, and choose.

10. By virtue of which licence, the Dean and Chapter shall with all speed, in due form, elect and choose the said person named in the letters missive, and none other.

And if they delay their election above twelve days next after such licence, or letters missive to them delivered, the King shall nominate, and present by letters-patent, under the great seal, such person as he shall think convenient, to be invested and consecrated in like manner, as if he had been elected by the Dean and Chapter."—Burn's Eccles. Law, vol. I. 202.

How then stands the case so far as we have hitherto examined it? The statements thus made must be noticed together, and attentively viewed in their combined operation and results. A licence (called in French *congé d'élire*,) that is, *leave to choose*, is forwarded to the Dean and Chapter; but with this licence "is a letter missive, containing the name of the person, which they shall elect and choose," and by virtue of these communications jointly received, "the Dean and Chapter shall with all speed, in due form elect, and choose the said person named in the letters missive, and no other."

Thus far, however, we have heard of no compulsion, as attached to the Dean and Chapter on the subject; and the last clause, which I have introduced above, provides a remedy in case of their refusal to act, as directed. But now we come to the main point of the question, as applicable to the subject under our present review.

"And if the Dean and Chapter, after such licence shall be delivered to them, proceed not to election, and signify the same according to the tenor of this act, within twenty days next after such licence comes to their hands; or if any of them admit or do any thing contrary to this act, then every such Dean and particular person of the Chapter so offending, and every of their aiders, counsellors and abettors, shall incur *apæmunire*."—Burn's, vol. II. 203.

By which clause, which makes no allowance whatsoever for any

tish mind ; and accordingly, that I saw no reason whatever, to make me think that such a crisis

opinion or declaration on the part of the Chapter, under the circumstances of the individual, named by the Crown, appearing to them, either from his doctrine, his character, or any other reason, totally unfit for the office of a Bishop, the whole body of the Chapter with the Dean, or any individual refusing to join in the election of the Bishop, designated by the Sovereign, is subjected to a *præmunire* ! Now, to ascertain the nature and extent of this penalty, is far beyond my legal attainments, but it is enough to state that the infliction would be one of the most severe and alarming character, which the Statute Books contain.

Incredible as it would seem, were it not the real fact, such is the position in which the clergy, forming the Dean and Chapter, are placed at every appointment of a Bishop. I do not think it seemly to speak too harshly of the system, which I have here noticed ; but it is very evident that any member of the Chapter or the whole body together are placed in fearful circumstances of responsibility, should they be the instruments of introducing to the See, with which they are connected, any improper man, as their official head. And those who strongly feel that none of the Clergy should be subjected to such a penalty as a *præmunire* for a conscientious refusal in this matter, must certainly desire an alteration in the system. It would be quite beyond my capability or inclination to dwell on the special alteration which ought to take place, but it seems to me perfectly plain that it would be far better than the present plan, far more honest, and far less likely to compromise principle, either to place the Episcopal appointments, in name as well as in deed, at the entire disposal of the Crown, or to place them altogether in the hands of the Dean and Chapter. I am sure that any unprejudiced mind, reading the account of the legal and authorized mode of appointing Bishops, as existing at present would come to the conclusion, that it first assumes what it does not afterwards realize—I mean a permission of choice to the clergy on the matter in question ; and that it afterwards deals with them as liable to a most grievous penalty for that very conduct which it might be their positive duty to exemplify—I mean a refusal to assent and act, in case of an unfit person being named

in our Church could be viewed as a coming thing, either now, or at any future time.

by the Crown. One of the grand causes of the Scotch disruption was the determination of the Ministers, as members of the Presbytery, not to be subjected to such an alternative, as that of disobedience to the law, or violation of their principles. And to such an alternative every Dean and Chapter appears, on the face of the question, to be subject on the issue of a *congé d'élire*. I have no doubt that under the present system of investigating and testing all such matters, notice will ere long be fixed on the matter, as one involving an anomaly, and laying a snare for the conscience, from which even as a possibility, the Clergy of our Church ought, without doubt, and without delay to be freed.

It is well known that at present the appointment of the Bishops virtually lies in the hands of the Prime Minister for the time being.

CHAPTER XXII.

Veto Act—Patronage—Auchterarder Case—A Principle stated.

It seems to me that this may not be an inappropriate place for a slight general outline of those causes which have mainly led to the late disruption in the Church of this land. And, perhaps, for practical purposes, and in order to meet the case of general readers, I cannot do better than refer briefly to the three following topics :—first, to the Veto Act, secondly, to the memorable Auchterarder Case, and thirdly, to what is termed in Scotland the “Crown right of the Redeemer,”—or, so far as I can explain it, the doctrine of Christ’s Headship in the Church, independent of all civil authority and state interference in spiritual things.

Many of my readers, though they have heard of the Veto Act, have, perhaps, never yet seen it in print. The document is not long ; and I shall transcribe it here, first premising that it

was the Act of the General Assembly of the Scotch Church, passed in May, 1834, previous to the disruption, and confirmed as an established law of the Church in 1835 :—

“ Edinburgh, May 29, 1835.

“ The General Assembly declare that it is a fundamental law of their Church, that no pastor shall be intruded in any congregation contrary to the will of the people ; and, in order that this principle may be carried into full effect, the General Assembly, with the consent of a majority of the Presbyteries of this Church, do declare, enact, and ordain, that it shall be an instruction to Presbyteries, that, if at the moderating in a call to a vacant pastoral charge, the major part of the male heads of families, members of the vacant congregation, and in full communion with the Church, shall disapprove of the person in whose favour the call is proposed to be moderated in, such disapproval shall be deemed sufficient ground for the Presbytery rejecting such person, and that he shall be rejected accordingly, and due notice thereof forthwith given to all concerned ; but that, if the major part of the said heads of families shall not disapprove of such person to be their pastor,

the Presbytery shall proceed with the settlement according to the rules of the Church.

“And further declare, that no person shall be held to be entitled to disapprove, as aforesaid, who shall refuse, if required, solemnly to declare in presence of the Presbytery, that he is actuated by no factious or malicious motive, but solely by a conscientious regard to the spiritual interests of himself and the congregation.”

Now the first question of any one interested in the subject will be, why was this Act passed at all? And the right answer will be, that it was passed in order to prevent any exercise of patronage, in a manner adverse to the spiritual welfare of the people entrusted to the charge of the Scotch Presbyterian Church. But here we must refer to history.

In the year 1690, the Presbyterian Church was declared to be the established Church of Scotland, according to the provisions on this subject in the Revolution Settlement, by which all patronage was abolished, and the establishment of a minister in his local charge reverted exclusively to the hands of the Church. This recognition was contained in the Act of Security, on which was grounded the Treaty of Union

itself. How, then, do we find patronage existing in the Church? That is the next question for solution.

It was forced upon the Church again in the celebrated Act of Queen Anne, under the pretext that due compensation had not been made to all the owners of patronage, as formerly in existence. Of this Act, Bolingbroke and the Jacobites were the instigators and promoters; and, notwithstanding constant reclamations against that Act, proceeding through a long succession of years against it on the part of the Scotch Church, as represented by the General Assembly, that Act of Queen Anne has ever since been the law of the land, and, consequently, patronage has since that time been part and parcel of that law.* I repeat that it has assumed this character, in spite of a remonstrance immediately after the Act, presented on behalf of the Church, and in spite of the annual repetition of that remonstrance or protest for

* It will be evident to all who attentively consider the subject in a constitutional and legal point of view, that the grand turning point will be whether this Act of Parliament was an admissible thing, or whether it was not totally inconsistent with the principles guaranteed by the Revolution Settlement, and Act of Security. The advocates of Free Church principles; maintain that such was its real character; and this has been maintained in Scotland from generation to generation, since the Act was passed.

forty-eight successive years, viz.: till the year 1784.

During this interval the first secession took place. It was mainly on account of patronage, and took place in the year 1735.

But the Church grew cold and lax, and indifferent to those rights, to which it had so long most strenuously laid its claim; and at last a proposal was absolutely made that it should formally remove the rights and privileges named to the Church by the Act of 1690. This proposal was however defeated, and the Assembly again solemnly declared the ancient right of parishes to appoint their ministers, as being a thing "agreeable to the immemorial and constitutional practice of the Church," and "as to be continued." This took place in 1782.

New energy and spirit arose in the Church in the early part of the present century; and as "the house of David" grew stronger and stronger, so it was in that body in the Scotch Church, on whose spirit, and on whose history I now particularly dwell. The growing strength of the most zealous and devoted portion of the Assembly gave rise to the renewal of one of their old remonstrances against patronage, or rather against its unlimited exercise. This opposition, however, took a new and modified form, appearing in the Veto Act,

passed in the year 1834. Such is the history of that memorable transaction, so far as I can describe it in this brief summary. I am well aware that like all summaries and abbreviations, it may appear quite worthless to those already informed on the question in detail ; but in pages like these, I am of course writing for persons very differently circumstanced : I mean for those who want a plain statement, with the leading features of the question simply and briefly sketched out. And in a subject acknowledged to contain difficulties, and so often misrepresented through prejudice and party spirit, I shall be fully satisfied if I have made no statement which history and fact will not support ; and if I have given no false or unfair colouring to a statement in itself true. I would desire to avoid one full as much as the other.

The Auchterarder Case first exhibited the strength and energy of those principles which were now once more boldly and openly professed in the Church, and embodied for use and application in that Veto Act, which I have just introduced to the notice of my readers.

I shall now proceed to make a few observations on this case, of which the beginning, continuance, and end was watched with the most intense interest and excitement throughout Scotland, as well as among her many sons

scattered in all quarters of the world ; and of which it may truly be said, that it has been productive of some of the most momentous consequences, to which any trial of the kind has ever given rise.

Within a few months after the passing of the Veto, a vacancy having occurred at Auchterarder,* in Perthshire, Mr. R—— Y—— was presented by Lord K—— to the charge.

I must here observe that before a minister was, or is finally settled in a Scotch Pastoral charge of the Established Church, he must be first presented by the Patron. In being presented he delivers the “instrument of presentation” and other requisite papers to the Presbytery. Now the business of the Presbytery seems to be two-fold ; first, “to make trial of his qualifications, literature, good life, and conversation,” or general fitness for the ministry ; and, secondly, “of his fitness and qualifications for the functions of the ministry at the Church to which he is presented.”

It is required of the candidate that he should

* “The statute of Queen Anne, the right to lay patronage, the power of the Veto in the heads of families, members of the congregation in full communion with the Church, and the right of the Presentee to have trial made of his qualifications by the Presbytery, were elaborately discussed in the recent case of the Presbytery of Auchterarder *v.* the Earl of Kinnoul, in which the House of Lords confirmed the decision of the Court of Session.”—*Burn's Ecclesiastical Law*, Vol. 1, p. 415, ninth edition.

officiate in the parish to which he is presented, and those parishioners who are in full communion are subsequently invited to issue their Call, which is virtually their consent to, and express approbation of his appointment as their minister. This consent being given, and the special fitness to the charge thus ascertained (according to the Scottish view of the subject), the candidate is examined by the Presbytery as to his general fitness for the ministerial or pastoral office, and, if found qualified, is ordained and inducted. It will be seen at a glance, how different such a system is from our own, not only as to practice but as to the principle on which it rests; but with this part of the subject we have at present nothing whatsoever to do.

On Mr. Y. being presented to Auchterarder, out of 330 parishioners, who had lawful votes as being male heads of families and on the roll of communicants, there were, I believe, 287, who expressly declared themselves adverse to his appointment. The Presbytery then refused to proceed in his case. He appealed to the General Assembly on some point more of a technical than a general character. The General Assembly dismissed the Appeal, and the Presbytery rejected Mr. Y. according to the Veto Act.

Shortly after, conjointly with Lord K—, he had recourse to the civil power, and here was

the beginning of real "open war." The matter was referred to the Court of Session, on the ground that the decision of the Presbytery was "illegal and injurious to the patrimonial rights of the pursuer, and contrary to the provisions of the statutes and laws libelled." I cannot dwell on, or explain the technicalities of the Scotch law, but only generally state that the object in view was to get the Court of Session to compel the Presbytery to act in a different manner from that which they had pursued; so that Mr. Y—— might be inducted and ordained, instead of rejected on the grounds above mentioned. An appeal like this is at once, and in itself, an admission of the following fact—that the Presbytery is the only legal and competent court for the final and direct accomplishment of the specific object in view, the Court of Session not being called upon otherwise than as a court of control and authority over the Presbytery, and by no means as qualified to act in its place, or with its proper functions.

The Judges of the Court of Session were by no means unanimous in their decision. Out of thirteen, no less than five were decidedly against "sustaining the amendment," (as it was otherwise called) or, to speak with a little more approximation to our Anglican forms, were

against "granting the rule." However, as the majority of the members of the Court of Session were of a different opinion, it declared itself, by its decision, competent to interfere in this and all other similar questions, in which the conduct of any Presbytery, and, indeed, in which the conduct of the General Assembly might be involved; for it must be always remembered that the Presbytery, acting in the Auchterarder case, was only carrying out the Veto Act as passed by the General Assembly. The decision of the Court was, that the Presbytery, in refusing to examine Mr. Y., and in rejecting him, in consequence of a majority of the male heads of families, who were communicants, being unwilling to receive him as their pastor, had "acted illegally and in violation of their duty, and contrary to the provisions of certain statutes," especially the Act of Queen Anne. The House of Lords confirmed this decision in August, 1842.

The Presbytery, however, still remained firm in its refusal to take any steps towards ordaining Mr. Y. It maintained that neither the Court of Session nor the House of Lords had any constitutional right to legislate in spiritual matters connected with the Scottish Church.

The General Assembly took up the cause with

much zeal and decision of purpose. In 1839, a motion of Dr. Chalmers was carried in that House by a majority of forty-nine votes, recognizing the fact, that the Auchterarder Case, as to the temporalities, was decided, and that the Church was bound to obey the decision of the Court of Session and the House of Lords in all temporal things ; that the principle of non-intrusion must be maintained by the Church as a purely spiritual thing ; that a Committee should be nominated to consider the best means of obviating the evils with which the Church was threatened in the separation of its temporal means from the spiritual office itself. For the late events had introduced nothing less than this very predicament, in which was involved the existence or non-existence of the Establishment itself ; or, to speak more accurately, the adhesion or secession of all those who could not acquiesce in the late decisions, as to spiritual things proceeding from the Court of Session and the House of Lords.

A small share of attention to this narrative of events, as connected with the Auchterarder Case, will enable any reader to account, according to the probable sequence of Scotch religious affairs, for all which has since followed in their train. That which the Church admits, and that

which the Church denies is admirably put in the following passage extracted from Sydoy's work.

"She," that is the Scotch Church, "admits that the supreme civil power can at its pleasure withdraw altogether the whole civil privileges belonging to the Establishment; and that the Court of Session can competently determine on every particular case as to the right to the possession of a particular benefice, and grant, or withhold it from the individual admitted by the Church to the pastoral office, according to its own judgment as to whether the requisites required by law to entitle him thereto have or have not been present; but she denies the power of any civil tribune to coerce her courts in the execution of the spiritual powers of ordaining and admitting to the pastoral charge, or of any of the spiritual powers derived from her Divine Head."

CHAPTER XXIII.

Marnoch Case—Edinburgh Convocation—Free Church formed—
Its recent History—Its present position—Its prospects—Head-
ships of the Church—Opposing views—Scottish Principles—
Historical notices—Means of judgment—Recent contests—Sir
R. Peel's announcement.

A VERY strong practical illustration of the feelings of the Scotch people on the matters lately under our review, was exhibited at Marnoch by the parishioners themselves, though in this case acting contrary to the decision of the majority of the Presbytery. The minister presented had met with a veto on their part. The General Assembly supported them, and enjoined the Presbytery to suspend the proceedings as to ordination. The Presbytery, however, preferred obeying the Court of Session; and accordingly, on the 21st of January, 1841, it not being in the power of the parishioners to stop the settlement, they read by their agent a solemn protest against the step which was about

to be taken. They then rose in a body and left the church, and during the ensuing summer new, but complete ministerial arrangements, were framed among themselves.

In 1842, the Auchterarder Case was decided in the House of Lords, and then came the crisis. On the 17th of November of that year between four or five hundred ministers met in convocation at Edinburgh. Dr. Chalmers opened the business of the meeting, and after eight successive days of conference and prayer, they came to the determination of declaring to the Legislature that their connexion with the State must cease, if they were debarred from the exercise of those principles guaranteed to them by the Revolution Settlement and Act of Security.* These deliberations ended in a formal appeal to the Legislature ; but the appeal was without effect. Much anxious excitement then prevailed until the

* It must again and again be brought to our minds that the advocates of the Free Church, as a body maintaining legal and constitutional claims to rectitude in its present course, continually act on the principle that in these acts the Church of Scotland was placed beyond the subsequent interference of the British Parliament in her government, discipline, and doctrine ; and that the national faith was pledged to the maintenance of these solemn treaties. Subsequent parliamentary measures, contrary to these treaties, are therefore (according to these views), the subjects of legitimate protest.

meeting of the General Assembly in May 1843. A protest was then read by Dr. Walsh, the Moderator, against the Assembly proceeding further in the business for which they were met, on the plea that the rights of its members had been interfered with in an unconstitutional manner. He then bowed towards the throne, where the representative of her Majesty was seated, and retired, followed by the whole body of ministers and elders, who shared in the views and principles embodied in the Protest. In the mean time, a multitude of persons interested in these proceedings were waiting in the street, outside St. Andrew's Church, where the Assembly was convened.

The whole body of seceding ministers and elders then went in procession, accompanied by vast and applauding crowds of people, to a large hall at Canonmills, where the first Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland was held. Dr. Walsh opened the proceedings with prayer and thanksgiving; Dr. Chalmers was then unanimously elected Moderator, and the Protest of which I have spoken above was recorded in the acts of the new Assembly. Five days afterwards, on Tuesday the 23rd of May, four hundred and seventy ministers at once separated themselves from the Establishment, and gave

up all the emoluments and rights which they had derived in a civil point of view from their position as ministers of the Established Church in Scotland, by signing publicly the "Act of Separation and Deed of Demission."

The subsequent history of the Free Church has proved the zeal, determination and perseverance with which the principles then acted upon have been hitherto carried out. The subject has now taken its place in the history of this country ; neither will any one question that its rise and progress has been very much in accordance with many salient points in Scotland's religious history of past times ; for beyond all doubt, measures which would carry the air of novelty if adopted and executed in other lands, in connexion with the religious feelings and conduct of the people, and with their opposition to all State interference in spiritual things, bear not the same air in Scotland, but accord with the very spirit and conduct of her sons from generation to generation. Herein they resemble not the piece of new cloth on an old garment, but rather the new shoot springing out of that old stock which has put forth so many similar proceedings at various historical periods, all known well, brought to mind, and applied through the length and breadth of Scotland,

however little known, brought to mind, or applied by men of other climes, other tenets, other recollections, other sympathies, and other convictions as to the true nature of a church, and matters connected therewith.

And here, with one remark, I end this part of the subject, which remark is, that among all parties, whether in this country, or whether elsewhere, whether among the friends and advocates, or whether among opponents of the Free Church, one testimony is never withheld ; I mean a recognition of its wonderful prosperity. On all sides a feeling of absolute surprise prevails at the progress which it has made, at the activity displayed in its behalf both at home and abroad, and at the large pecuniary means placed at its disposal.

Some will account for these results in one way, and some in another ; some will prognosticate the most signal advance of its principles, power, and success ; others will prophecy future coldness on the part of its adherents, diminution as to the zeal in its behalf, and failure of its resources. I pronounce here no opinion on these matters, but I only record as *a fact* its remarkable prosperity at this present time, admitted by all, whether friends or foes. Its friends, though formerly expecting much, yet now constantly refer to their lack of faith, and declare it as having

been small indeed in proportion to present results. Its adversaries own that their former expectations of its being but a transient excitement have all proved erroneous. The vessel is now sailing forth in full and gallant trim. The eyes of the world are on it. A cloud of witnesses is gazing intently on its course, and history will have to record its rise and progress among the great religious and political events of our present time, even were it at this very day to be no more, and to cease.

While upon the present subject, I wish to take the opportunity of saying a few words on the doctrine prevalent in Scotland concerning the Lord Jesus Christ, in allusion to his office, as Head of the Church.

And here I must observe that on this subject, as practically applied, the very widest distinction exists between the doctrines, convictions, and feelings of the people in Scotland, and those of the other parts of Great Britain. I shall make an attempt to explain this difference in a simple and practical manner. In the other parts of Great Britain, while the Lord Jesus Christ is acknowledged to the very uttermost by all true members of the Protestant Church, as its invisible head, yet it does not appear to them, that it is inconsistent with this recognition to own a

temporal head or ruler, “ in all cases ecclesiastical and civil supreme ;” and while no faithful man would for an instant allow any human being whatsoever, to come between his conscience and his God, yet it seems perfectly consistent with this superior claim, standing, as it does in grand and solitary pre-eminence, to acknowledge a civil tribunal, as of paramount authority in the public affairs of the Church. There must be visible headship and tangible government *somewhere* ; and as it must at all events be in the hands of fallible humanity, whether sovereigns, archbishops and bishops, ecclesiastical courts, houses of parliament, presbyteries, or whether it be some combination of these or similar authorities, it is not considered as at all a matter of conscience or fixed duty towards God, to decide in what hands this authority should rest, and by whom it should be exercised. Hence there is a perfect lack of *experimental* comprehension, out of Scotland, in relation to a view of the question, embraced in that country as a matter of the utmost importance, engrained in the depths of her religious character, and even sanctified in the minds of her people, by the blood shed in behalf of this very principle by her martyrs at the stake, and by her warriors on the battle-field.

So far as I, a stranger, can ascertain the truth on this subject—and I have sought it diligently both in conversation and in books,—the doctrine so generally recognized, and so closely embraced in Scotland is this. It is held that the guidance and rule of the Lord Jesus Christ may be expected by the Church, acting expressly as a Church, in a manner after which it could not be expected to be exercised upon any ruling power or authoritative body formed and maintained for general objects of government and legislation. And furthermore, I believe it to be held that a distinct mode of administering spiritual and ecclesiastical matters is set forth in the word of God, in a manner which must be upheld with the most strict accuracy of obedience to His holy will. On these subjects no interference can be admitted, nor in any thing which directly or indirectly bears upon them ; for instance, in the “ intrusion ” (as it is called) of a minister in any parish against the will of the presbytery or the parishioners. The persons, whose tenets on these questions I now endeavour to describe in a plain, practical manner, do not claim for the visible ruling body in their Church any thing like Popish infallibility. They admit, in the strongest terms, their liability to err, but main-

tain that whether they may act rightly or wrongly, still the great principle of acting independently of any superior power must be asserted in the Church, and thus, that the honour and prerogative of Christ, as the sole head of the Church is maintained, and that He is thus honoured, and the "crown-rights of the Redeemer," (according to their common language) upheld in their inviolable and everlasting prerogative.

I am well aware that it is very difficult for people generally speaking, and if not Scotch, nor bred up in that country, to realize even a small measure of the strength and depth, with which these convictions are embraced in the national spirit and religious heart of this land. Among a vast body here the question is not one of argument at all, but rather an axiom, a principle taught at the fire-side of the cottager, and in the very parish-school, no less than in the pulpit, and in countless religious works and publications read with such avidity in all parts of the country. But beyond this—and here, perhaps is the very life and centre of the question, as one of practical influence and weight in the great body of the people—the right of the Church in spiritual things, to complete independence of any other government, than that

of the Lord Jesus Christ, is the very controversy in which Scotland has been more or less engaged since the Reformation — the controversy, as expressed in a work now before me, “whether Christ or man shall reign in the Church as head and Governor thereof.”

I am not here weighing, in the slightest degree, the truth or the fallacy of this doctrine, as realized, felt, and applied in Scotland : nor am I at all comparing the principles which it involves, with those entertained elsewhere : nor am I here admitting that the members of the Church of England do virtually and ultimately acknowledge any other ruler and head of the Church, than the Lord Jesus Christ, any more than do the Scotch : nor am I pronouncing any opinion whatever ; but here I am only stating a fact. I am only drawing attention to a great and admitted fact, viz : that the tenet above-mentioned is, and has long been the very life and centre of ecclesiastical doctrine, as professed in this land, from one generation to another.

All will assent to this statement who are acquainted with the religious history of the country, and with the religious contests, of which it has been the field. To this tenet her ministers have given a constant and strong

testimony. For this tenet many of her sons have laid down their lives and subjected themselves to all manner of persecution. Thus we find Andrew Melville saying to King James : “ Our commission is from the living God, to whom the King is subject. There are two kingdoms ; one is the kingdom of Christ, which is the Church, whose subject King James is, and of whose kingdom he is not a head, nor a lord, but a member.”

The confession of faith is very positive and distinct in this matter. In the 25th chapter it states, “ There is no other head of the church but the Lord Jesus Christ ;” and lest this expression should be taken in too limited a sense, the 30th chapter, in its first and leading section, makes the following most explicit announcement :

“ The Lord, as King and Head of his Church, has therein appointed a government on the hand of church-offices, *distinct from the civil magistrate*,” a passage which is in direct contrast to the well-known prayer of *our Church*, in which we pray for the sovereign, especially *as being* “ *in all cases, ecclesiastical and civil, supreme.*” Mr. Crichton, the moderator of the Assembly, at its celebrated meeting in 1692, declared, “ That the office-bearers in the house

of God have a spiritual intrinsic power from Jesus Christ, the only head of his Church, to meet in assemblies about the affairs thereof.”* The commission in their “Seasonable admonition” of 1698, publicly declare, “We do believe and own that Jesus Christ is the only head and King of his Church; and that He hath instituted in his Church, offices and ordinances, order and government, and not left it to the will of men, magistrate, or church, to alter at their pleasure.”†

Such is the ancient faith and testimony of the Scotch Church in this matter, long held and maintained in the most zealous, determined, and energetic manner; then, for a certain period suffered to lie in abeyance, and although, by some warmly cherished and maintained, by a still larger majority either acknowledged as a mere form, or as antiquated, enthusiastic, and unsuitable to the times. This period is often termed by the Free Church adherents as the “reign of the Moderates.” But of late years, the old doctrine has revived in all its former strength. Its results are manifest, “known and read of all men.” “He who runs may read them;” and

* Brown’s History of the Church of Scotland. Edition 1784, p. 326.

† Ibid. p. 344.

while no one, who takes any interest in public affairs, can pass them by without some attention, they offer to the statesman,—to those who minister in holy things, and to all who would investigate the rise and progress of events, religious, social, and political, a theme worthy of their study, and specially if (as for instance, being legislators) it may be needful for them to express and embody their views by open and decided acts. I shall be thankful, and shall have done my part if I have been able to record any circumstances calculated to promote a “right judgment” in those who may have only to judge, or right acts in those, who may have to act on the question of the Free Church.

As some individuals, who are but little informed on the subject, in its application, and detail, may possibly imagine that this question of civil interference is more of a nominal, than of a real character, and that it has not been exercised, and therefore need not be apprehended, or magnified into such an evil, as it is considered in the Free Church of Scotland; and as there is a numerous party, who have asserted continually, and of whom some still continue to assert, that the whole is as an insignificant matter, and not sufficiently pressing either on the conscience of those who are involved, or on

the interest of the people at large, as to excite such a stir, and to prove one of the chief courses of disruption, I shall instance here a few well known examples, where the civil power has been directly, and authoritatively brought to bear on the members of the Church in the exercise of those functions, which, according to their view, belong to the Church exclusively, and alone.

In the Lethendy and Stewarton Cases, the Court of Session interdicted Presbyteries, as to the admission of Pastors to these two charges respectively.

In the Marnoch Case, the Court of Session issued a decree inquiring a Church Court to take on trial, and admit a probationer, contrary to the will of the people.

In the Stewarton Case, the Court of Session granted an interdict against various measures for providing additional means of grace, in behalf of an increasing population, and for the exercise of discipline.

In the Strathbogie Case, the Court of Session interdicted measures, nearly of a similar character with those last mentioned, under the authority of the Church Courts.

In the Second Auchterarder Case, the Court of Session held the members of an inferior Church Court liable to damages in a matter

where they refused to act spiritually, and ecclesiastically in defiance of the superior Church Court.

In the Calsamond Case, the Court of Session interdicted the execution of the sentence of the Church, prohibiting a minister from officiating in a particular parish.

In the Cambusnethan, Stranraer and Fourth Lethendy Cases, the Court of Session interdicted the General Assembly, and inferior Church Courts, from inflicting Church censures, and proceeding in trials involving charges of immorality against respective ministers.

In the First and Second Strathbogie Cases, the Court of Session, acting just in the opposite manner to that which I last noticed, suspending sentences inflicted by Church judicatories.

In the Third Strathbogie Case, the Court of Session interdicted the execution of a sentence of deposition from the Ministry, pronounced by the General Assembly of the Church.

In connexion with the Fifth Strathbogie Case, the Court of Session assumed a right of judgment, as to whether certain individuals, elected members of the General Assembly should, or should not take their seats.

With this list I conclude my notes on the subject, and leave the question, as to its import-

ance,* to the judgment of my readers, whether considered in relation to Scotland alone, or to other churches, subject to the influence of those remarkable transactions which I have endeavoured to narrate, as exhibited in this country.

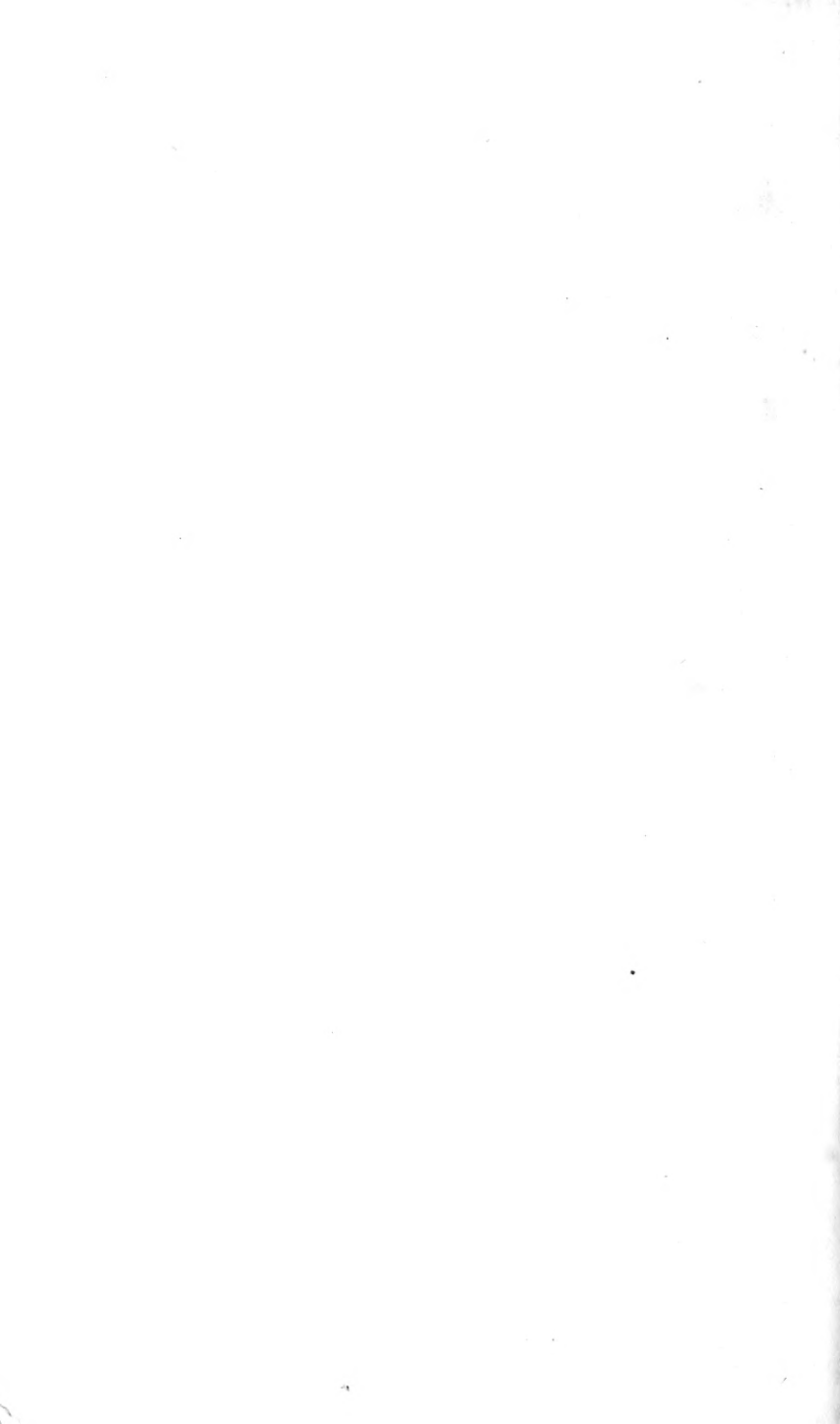
* I see by the speech of Sir Robert Peel, on the second night of the present Session, that the note of preparation for the Parliamentary discussion of the question at large, has been already sounded in the quarter from whence the announcement comes with the utmost possible weight. The words of the Premier, referring to a speech of Mr. Colquhoun, are as follows :

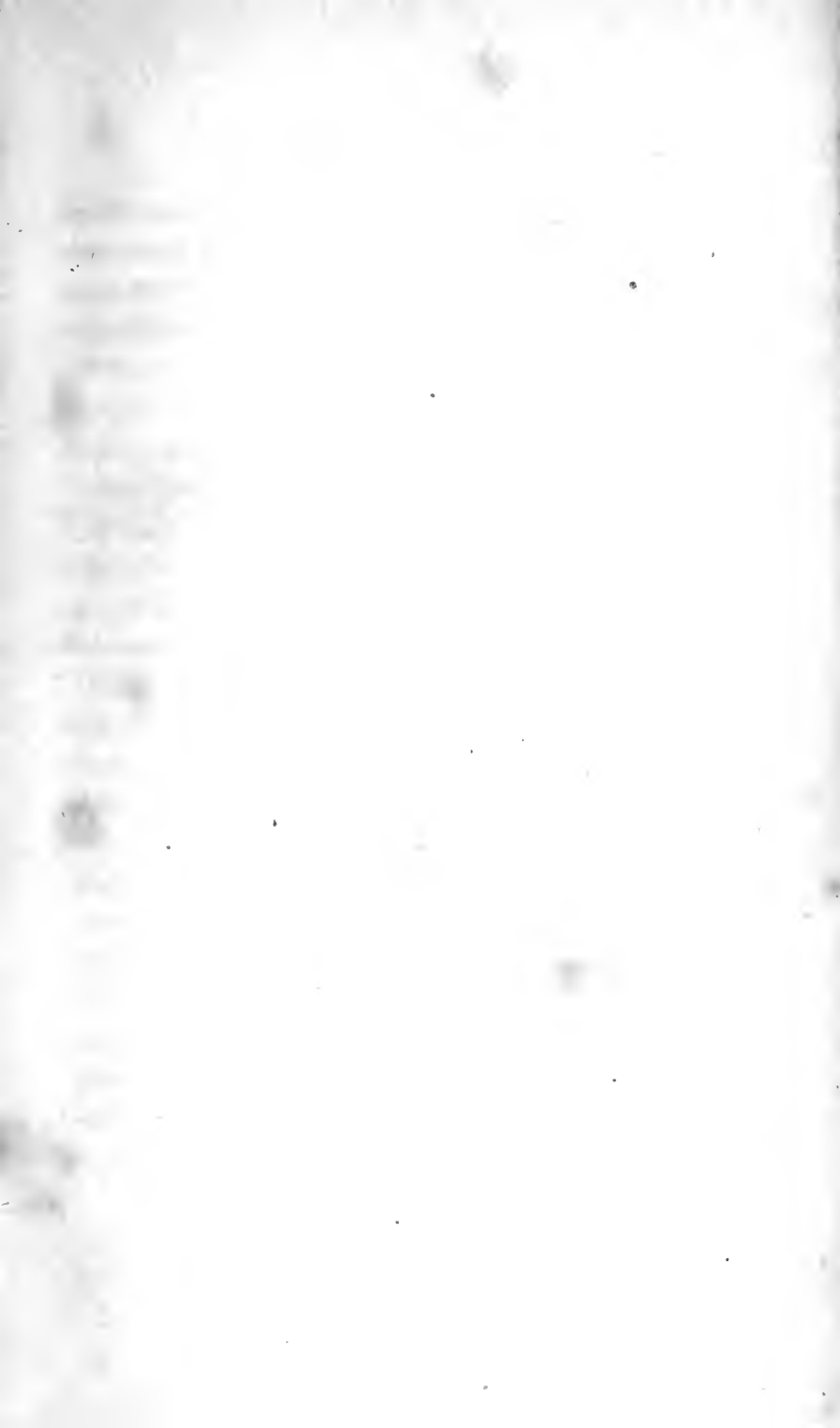
“He, (Mr. C.) has alluded to my policy, with respect to the Church of Scotland; but that has no bearing on the question, which must be considered and discussed, and that too, at a very early period.”—Jan. 24th, 1846.

END OF VOL. I.

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